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GOVERNMENT BY POLITICAL DEALS?

Israelis Hedge Farther Right In No-Win Knesset Elections

The Israeli political establishment found itself stalemated by the results of the eleventh Knesset elections July 23, in which neither Likud nor Labour obtained a large enough majority to forge even a narrow-based coalition government. A national coalition government, advocated by the ruling Likud, is not favoured by other parties, who fear it would simply transplant current parliamentary battles to the cabinet and thus produce a non-governing government. The vote of the Israeli army, however, has yet to be counted. The number of votes still outstanding is classified, but it is enough to change the seating of one or two MKs.

The ruling Likud Party, under the leadership of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, won 41 Knesset seats, while the opposition Labour Party pulled 45 seats. The remaining 13 small parties and fringe movements received a total of 34 Knesset seats, making them pivotal to either of the larger parties in forming a new government. Sixty-one Knesset votes (half of the Knesset seats plus one) are needed for any government to survive a vote of confidence in the Parliament.

According to the political balance in the new Knesset, neither Likud nor the Labour Party can hope to command 61 seats without the three votes of Ezer Weizman's Yahad movement. Weizman, who resigned the defence portfolio from the Likud-led government in 1979 over differences with then Prime Minister Menachem Begin over the implementation of the Camp David accords, seems reluctant to back a Likud government. He has called for a national unity government to be led by Labour as the largest party.

Other smaller parties, especially the four largest religious parties, the National Religious Party (Mafdal), Agudat Yisrael, the Sephardi Torah Guardians (Shas) and the Heritage (Morasha) parties, are likely to join a Likud-led government, but are not formally committed. The only party which announced support for the Likud without reservation is the ultra-right-wing Tehiya-Tzomet list under the leadership of Minister of Science and Technology Yuval Ne'eman and former army Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan.

Meir Kahane, leader of the racist Kach movement, which won a seat in the Knesset, also expressed a preference for a Likud-led government over one led by the Labour Party. Kahane also announced he would back whoever awarded amnesty to the Jewish terror underground.

The Labour Party enjoys the guaranteed support of the six Knesset members from the moderate Citizens Rights Movement (Ratz) and the Movement for Change (Shinui). In addition, the Communist Party-led Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) and the newly formed Progressive List for Peace (PLP) both announced they would join a bloc against the Likud's attempts to form a government.

To solve the government formation deadlock, a number of Israeli parties and the ruling Likud are calling for a broad-based national unity government, but both major divisions would insist on the premiership — Labour by its plurality of votes and Likud by its relative strength with the right-wing.

The Labour Party is reluctant to enter into such a coalition even if it is headed by Shimon Peres. However, it is warmer on the issue after MAPAM, Labour's partner in the Alignment coalition, retracted from its position of not sharing government power with the Likud. DFPE head Meir Vilner expressed opposition to the foundation of a 'national unity government' as unviable.

Arab Voters

The July 23 polls revealed a decline in Arab support of Zionist parties. Israeli newspapers reported that the Labour Party's share of Arab votes had dropped from 29 percent to 22.5 percent, a decline of 6.5 percent from the previous elections in 1981. The Likud party only polled 4.6 percent of the Arab vote, a drop from 6.1 percent in the 1981 elections.

The major Palestinian-favoured coalition, the DFPE, held onto its four Knesset seats but fell slightly short of winning a fifth seat. In spite of that, Israeli political observers say that the strength of the Communist Party-dominated DFPE dropped by five percent from 1981.

The largest reaper of Arab turn-over votes was the newly formed PLP, which won close to 19 percent of the Arab vote and earned two Knesset seats.

Arab Reaction

The weak showing of the Labour Party disappointed many Arab states, particularly Egypt and Jordan, who were counting on a strong Labour victory in order to negotiate a settlement of the Palestinian problem.

In Egypt, the government-controlled daily *Al Jumhuriyah* said that the real winners in the elections were the extremists from the smaller parties. In Jordan, Minister of Information Leila Sharaf tried to minimise the effect of the Labour loss. She said that there was not much difference between Likud or Labour. Weeks before, King Hussein was quoted as saying a Labour victory would provide a better negotiating atmosphere.

In Syria, the official daily newspaper, *Tishrin*, described Likud and Labour as two faces of the same coin. Meanwhile, another prominent daily, *Al Ba'ath*, said that the Labour Party is likely to mobilise more diplomatic support for Israel's next expansionist wars.

The PLO remained indifferent to the Israeli election results. The PLO executive committee head, Yasir Arafat, who is on a visit to Malaysia and Indonesia, commented about the Israeli elections: "It is just the snake changing its skin." He added that the outcome of the Israeli elections would make no difference to the PLO's fight for a Palestinian homeland.

Local Palestinian Reaction

Palestinian personalities in the occupied territories called the indecisive results of the Israeli Knesset elections 'illustrative of the crisis within the state of Israel.' The general feeling among Palestinians was that the results mean a continuation of the *status quo* of life under occupation and the absence of a comprehensive and just peace.

continued on page 4

Arab Vote

Registered	288,000
Voted	210,000
DFPE	60,000
PLP	30,000
Labour	50,000
Likud	10,000
Shinui	12,000
Others:	58,000

Left				Centre									Right
DFPE	PLP	Ratz	Shinui	Marach	Yahad	Tami	Ometz	Likud	NRP	Morasha	Agudat Israel	Shas	Tehiya	Kach
4	2	3	3	45	3	1	1	41	4	2	2	4	4	1

Soldiers Shoot 5 Passers-by After Patrol Attacked in Nablus

A grenade was thrown on an Israeli patrol in Nablus July 20 and Israeli soldiers reacted by shooting indiscriminantly at passersby, wounding five Nablusis, including a 13-year-old boy. One Israeli soldier was reported wounded by the grenade thrown by an unidentified person as the foot patrol passed Hussein circle. The Israeli authorities claim that the residents were wounded in the initial bomb blast.

Rima Radi Dibs, 24, was hit by bullet fragments in the head, and her sister Hala, 46, was wounded in the knee. Ayman Abd al-Majid, 13, Mohammed Awwad, 60, and Adli Thalji, 27, received light injuries. All were carried to Rafidya Hospital in Nablus, treated and released the same day. The wounded soldier was taken to an Israeli hospital.

After the incident, Israeli troops placed the circle area and nearby Qasabeh neighbourhood under curfew, and searched for the attackers. *Al Sha'ab* Jerusalem daily said more than 100 passersby were rounded up and taken to the local police station. An unknown number are still being held.

In further repression, on the night of July 22, Israeli military authorities installed an iron gate across one of the entrances to the Qasabeh neighbourhood in the city, near the vegetable market, thus partitioning the old section from the rest of the city. Local merchants said the measure was in punishment for the grenade attack.

In an incident two days earlier, Israeli soldiers and bomb disposal experts were stoned when they arrived to examine a suspicious parcel in a Nablus mosque thought to contain explosives. Israeli military sources told the Israeli press that the bomb scare was a deliberate plot set by residents to trap the soldiers when they arrived, residents began hurling stones from rooftops.

Israeli military sources said that an illegible notice in Arabic was attached to the parcel. According to a report by *Agence France Presse*, the note was a threat signed by the Jewish terrorist group known as TNT.

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Lebanese Resistance Attack Israeli Troops in South Lebanon

In south Lebanon, resistance attacks continued against both Israeli soldiers and Israeli-backed Lebanese militia. Journalists in south Lebanon reported that the bodies of two Israeli soldiers were found by the roadside near Tyre. The Israeli military spokesperson refused to admit the incident but foreign journalists stationed in south Lebanon reported that the soldiers had been shot at close range.

Israeli newspapers did admit last week that resistance attacks had increased in the week leading up to the Israeli elections. Hebrew daily *HaAretz* reported July 21 that a Shi'ite leader in south Lebanon, Daoud Daoud, had told their correspondent that the increase of attacks is meant to boost the chances of parties supporting a speedy withdrawal from Lebanon.

Israel radio reported that a hand grenade was hurled at an army administration building in Tyre July 21. The radio claimed that the attack caused no casualties or damage.

According to an Israeli military spokesperson, an armed resistance fighter was killed July 19 after an encounter between the Israeli army and a band of resistance fighters in the village of Amik on the eastern front of Lebanon. According to the Israeli press, the number of infiltrations from the Syrian-held areas have increased in the last few weeks, causing concern to the Israeli army.

On July 19 resistance fighters opened fire from automatic weapons at a checkpoint manned by militias of the Israeli-supported 'South Lebanon Army.' Israel radio claimed that no one was hurt in the incident.

In another incident, a Katyusha rocket was fired at an Israeli army outpost in the eastern sector of Lebanon July 22. An Israeli military spokesperson claimed that no injuries occurred but said that a search in the area turned up two additional 10.7mm rockets set for firing.

Israeli Officials Leave Beirut

July 25 Israeli military helicopters airlifted out all the workers of the Israeli liaison office in Dbayia, Lebanon, according to the decision of the Israeli prime minister and defence minister. The Israeli move came two days after the Knesset elections, despite the Phalangist-dominated Lebanese Forces' offer to protect the liaison office.

The Lebanese minister of security ordered July 18 that the office be closed. Lebanese minister Adel Eserian had stated the effective date of the closure as July 25. Israeli newspapers claimed that the reason for the closure was the lifting of the Lebanese soldiers from protecting the office.

Political observers saw the Israeli withdrawal as the complete severance of relations between Lebanon and Israel and the last nail in the coffin of the May 15 agreement between Israel and Lebanon, which was later abrogated by the Lebanese government.

Lebanese national figures have repeatedly accused the Israeli government of using the liaison office as a surveillance headquarters. Nabih Berri, Amal leader and Minister of Justice in south Lebanon, told a press conference July 22 that the Lebanese people will fight until the last Israeli soldier is withdrawn from south Lebanon.

West Banker Gets 30 Years for Grenade

After three court sessions the Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced July 18 Rida Hussein Abd al-Rahim Qadoura, 28, a West Bank Palestinian living in Lebanon, to 30 years in prison on charges of membership in an illegal organisation and participating in a military operation.

Qadoura was accused of placing a hand grenade outside a shop in Jaffa street in West Jerusalem February 28. One Israeli was seriously wounded and 20 others slightly injured in the blast. Qadoura, originally from Rufr Laqef in Nablus district, also received shrapnel wounds in his leg.

In the first court session on June 7, Qadoura refused to stand up when the military judge entered. Qadoura was then taken out of the court and the trial continued with Qadoura *in absentia*. (Translation: Al Quds, July 19, 1984)

1 YEAR TO 18 MONTHS

Jabalya Youths In Prison for 'Failure to Report' Find

Haidar al-Aileh and Ziad al-Khaldi, both 21 years old and residents of Jabalya refugee camp, were sentenced July 15 to prison terms for 'possession of hand grenades.' The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Haidar Saadi al-Aileh to two years, one in prison and one suspended during a period of three years. Ziad Fakhri al-Khaldi was sentenced to three years, one-and-one-half active and one-and-one-half suspended during a period of three years.

The two young men were arrested in February after a voluntary work camp in Jabalya, where they found several hand grenades buried in a can in the camp cemetery. They were sentenced for not reporting the find to the military authorities, although, under international law, a citizen of an occupied state is not required to report to the occupying power.

Haidar al-Aileh is a secondary school student who was to have taken the secondary matriculation examination in June. He was one of about 40 pre-trial detainees in Gaza jail who were not allowed to sit for the exam. Usually prisoners are permitted to take the exam and the authorities had already collected the IS2500 registration fee from his parents for this purpose.

Ziad al-Khaldi is a student in UNRWA's Ramallah two-year teacher-training institute for men. He was at home in Jabalya for one day to collect expenses for school, according to family members, on the day of the voluntary work camp.

Israeli Convoy Crosses Awali Line

Sidon — An Israeli military convoy, consisting of 16 armoured vehicles, a personnel carrier and a military lorry crossed the Awali military defence line and advanced north towards Kharoub province in the Shouf area July 18.

Lebanese news reporters said that the convoy fired several shells towards the sea, but reporters were unable to say whether the crossing was a military practice manoeuver or serious action.

The Lebanese press speculated that the Israeli incursion was connected to the fighting between rival forces.

In a break of a five-month ceasefire, intense artillery fire was exchanged during the night of July 14 in Kharoub province between Phalangist forces and Druze fighters of the Progressive Socialist Party.

Three Israeli Military Targets Attacked

Palestinian resistance fighters operating underground in the occupied territories carried out three attacks against Israeli troops this week. Israeli military authorities rounded up a number of Palestinian residents on suspicion of involvement in the attacks.

July 22 two grenades were thrown towards Israeli soldiers in Jabalya refugee camp, north of Gaza City. The first bomb was thrown on a military position in the camp. When Israeli soldiers arrived to comb the area, a second bomb was hurled at one of the patrols. Israeli troops then surrounded the camp, placed it under curfew and searched for the attackers.

In a statement broadcast by Radio Monte Carlo three days later, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed responsibility for the Jabalya attacks. The statement said that Israeli troops were brutalising the residents and that over 100 people were arrested.

A Molotov cocktail was hurled towards an Israeli soldier Wednesday night, July 25, as he walked near al-Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron's centre. Israeli military sources claimed that the soldier only barely escaped.

Israeli troops immediately closed the roads leading to the site of the attack, placed the area under curfew and rounded up passersby. One eyewitness said the soldiers frisked Arab residents and checked their ID cards. Several people were arrested and taken to the military compound.

BZU Student Restricted Day Before Exams

Bir Zeit — The Israeli military authorities imposed a six-month town arrest order on senior Bir Zeit University student Ghassan Jarrar. Jarrar, a fourth-year sociology major, received the order restricting him to his home town of Jenin on July 18 — the day before final examinations commenced at the University. Under the order, Ghassan must sign in at the Jenin police station once a day.

The order prevents Ghassan from attending the August summer session at the University, where he was registered to complete the seven credits necessary for his graduation.

Two other Bir Zeit students are under movement restrictions — Walid Zakut, under town arrest in Gaza, and Lawahiz Ja'bari, under a one-year order barring her from entering the West Bank or Gaza. Town arrest orders are issued by the military authorities without any judicial review. The victim is not informed of any evidence against him or her and has no chance for defence. Ghassan's attorney, Lea Tsemel, will appeal the town arrest order and ask the court to order the authorities to produce specific reasons and evidence for the town arrest order.

Military Court Sentences Awarna to Life

Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Jamal Awarna, 22, from Ta'amra village, near Bethlehem, to life imprisonment. He was convicted of carrying out a number of military attacks against Israeli targets. A second commando in the same cell is to be sentenced later. No specific date was reported.

Awarna was convicted of shooting and killing an Israeli settler, who was an employee of the Israeli 'civil administration,' in the Bethlehem market in 1982. He was also charged with membership in Fatah, receiving military training abroad and planting several homemade bombs at various Israeli targets in the Jerusalem area.

Awarna and another commando were severely wounded last April when an explosive device they were preparing exploded in their hands. The accident led to their arrest.

Awarna was one of 60 people wounded in April 1982 when an American-Israeli, Alan Goodman, shot his way into al-Aqsa Mosque area. Two were killed in the shooting spree, which sparked a month of demonstrations and general uprising against the occupation.

In a related story, the Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Ibrahim Mohammed Ali from Qalqilya to 30 years. He was convicted of planting a bomb in the Israeli settlement town of Kfar Saba several months ago, which exploded wounding an Israeli. Two-thirds of the land belonging to Qalqilya was cut from the West Bank city after the 1948 war when Israel set up the 'green line' partitioning Palestine. The land is now cultivated by Kfar Saba and other Israeli settlements in the area.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 221, July 27, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censor. 12
Number of articles totally censored out 3
Number of articles partially censored but used 2
Number of articles passed 7

Nationalists Expel Thugs from Dheisheh Camp

The families of the three men from the Dheisheh refugee camp who assaulted and seriously injured a nationalist resident in the camp were ordered exiled from the camp following a two-month grace period beginning July 20. The men who participated in the assault on 65-year-old Hassan Jibul Mana'a were banned totally from the camp. The punishment was agreed upon by representatives of the three men and the Mana'a family at a traditional *sulha* "reconciliation," attended by 500 residents from the camp. Representatives of Mana'a's attackers admitted their guilt and offered to pay compensation to the family. Hasan's son, Jawadat refused any offer of monetary compensation — which is the traditional peace offering — and instead insisted that the men and their families leave the camp immediately. After a heated debate, both sides agreed on a two-month grace period before the exile of the offenders' families takes effect

Twenty residents of the Bethlehem district camp are known to have been arrested in a four-day arrest campaign following the assault on Mana'a, the secretary of the Progressive Workers bloc in the camp. Mana'a, still in critical condition at Maqassed hospital in East Jerusalem with wounds over most of his body and partial paralysis, was beaten with metal bars by Abd al-Aziz Turk, a resident of Ramleh whose son Nimr Atallah lives in Dheisheh camp, Sabri Attallah, a driver, and Khalil Atallah, the principal of nearby Artas village school. Turk also shot from his pistol to prevent residents from aiding Mana'a.

A Molotov bomb was thrown July 16 against the house of Salah Abed Rabbo, the chairperson of the Youth Social Centre in the camp. No damages were reported.

In revenge, large crowds of residents of the camp July 14, at night, set on fire the houses of the attackers and four cars. On the same night of the assault the Israeli soldiers arrested 13 people, including three journalists Hamdi Faraj, Hassan Abdel Jawad and Jawdat Mana'a. The camp was also curfewed for several hours. The three journalists and other detainees were accused of planning attacks They were released on the following day. Seven more residents were arrested over the next three days. Israeli authorities are still holding at least 10 residents from the camp.

Jawdat Mana'a, who is co-director of a press office in Bethlehem, told *Al Fajr*

Mana'a said that the offenders and their families were isolated in the camp. "They are terrorising their own people," Mana'a added.

Five attacks were made against national institutions and nationalists in the camp over the last three weeks. The house of Hassan Abdel Jawad was set afire and an arson attempt was made against the headquarters of a kindergarten belonging to the Palestinian Women's Committee and Voluntary Work Committee.

Israelis Bulldoze 2 Homes in Bethlehem Area

Israeli bulldozers demolished two houses in Za'tara village Bethlehem district July 18 the houses were not licenced.

The two-storey houses are owned by brothers Ali and Hassan Salamah Salman Wahsh. The Wahsh brothers are farmers and support two families consisting of 19 members. The two families now live in a tent erected near the rubble of their houses.

"Israeli authorities did not even give us enough time to take out all our furniture," the brothers said. Ali and Hassan told *Al Fajr* that they applied to the zoning department in Bethlehem six months ago for a licence and paid the licence fees to the municipal council in Za'tara.

Ali Wahsh said that a person called Rawhi came to the village last month and asked him to sign some papers. Ali, who is illiterate, put his thumbprint on the papers without knowing their contents. He said he believed Rawhi when he told him that the signature was for his benefit. Ali and Hassan told *Al Fajr* "We were surprised when Israeli bulldozers arrived at our new houses and soldiers told us to vacate our homes immediately."

Mayor Nasr Ends 2-Year Town Arrest

After spending two years under town arrest, the elected mayor of Qalqilya, *Haj* Amin Nasr, was notified July 19 that the Israeli military authorities do not intend to renew the movement restriction order.

The 65-year-old mayor went to the Israeli police station in Qalqilya on Thursday morning, July 19, after his latest 6-month town restriction expired, to check whether it was renewed or not. After contacting the military governorate in Tulkarm, and the Israeli commander of the central district, the police officer told Nasr that his town arrest was not going to be renewed. "I can now pursue my normal life: whether it be to visit my relatives in Nablus, to be under direct supervision of my doctors, or to go anywhere," Mayor Nasr said. The mayor, however, added that the reasons for which he was put under town arrest — supporting his people's struggle for self-determination — have not changed.

Nasr, who was elected mayor in 1972, was placed under town arrest on July 18, 1982. Shortly afterwards he was dismissed from the mayorship of Qalqilya by the Israelis because of his refusal to recognise the Israeli-imposed civil administration and meet with its chief officer. While under town arrest Nasr was prevented several times from seeking medical treatment in Jerusalem and Nablus and he had to risk imprisonment in order to get the medical attention he needed.

Nasr is now trying to obtain the necessary travel documents from Israeli authorities in order to accept an invitation to attend the third annual conference of Najda Palestinian Society, which is scheduled to be held in Washington September 7. American civil rights leader Jesse Jackson and a number of progressive American and international figures who support the Palestinian cause are also scheduled to attend.

Police Station in Dheisheh Gutted in Arson Attack

The police station in Dheisheh refugee camp was set ablaze on the night of July 22. The arsonists have not been identified. The fire destroyed all furnishings in the station, which is located opposite the main entrance of the camp.

An Israeli military patrol passing the camp late at night observed smoke rising from the station and, on inspection, found it totally gutted.

Bethlehem police sources reported that the arsonists entered the police station through a small rear window. They sprayed a highly flammable chemical on the furniture and set the station on fire. The police source said Israeli soldiers are stationed on the centre's roof only during daytime. Police are investigating the arson. The police believe the arsonists reside in Dheisheh refugee camp.

The Dheisheh camp residents vigorously resist the occupation and the camp is known as having the highest incidence of harassment, of all the camps, by Israeli authorities.

Between July 15 and 18, at least 10 people from Dheisheh camp were arrested on charges of burning three houses and four cars owned by collaborators living in the camp. No one has been arrested in connection with the latest incident in the camp and a normal atmosphere now prevails, according to camp residents. (Translation: Local Papers, July 24)

'Planning Dept. Biased,' BZU Petitions High Court

Bir Zeit University petitioned the High Court in Jerusalem July 22 to intervene against the Israeli military-run Planning Department in the West Bank. The university maintains that the Department is misusing its authority and that its actions towards the university show bias and misuse of its powers under the law.

In the petition, the university asks the court to order the military authorities to give reason for their refusal to grant the university a licence to build a Fine Arts Building on campus, scheduled to begin in June 1984, and why they have not stopped others, not associated with the university, from building without a licence or contrary to the conditions of the licence within the university zone.

According to a BZU press release, the illegal building activities are "harmful and inconvenient" and interfere with the university's development plans. Detailed plans were submitted to the authorities in February of this year.

The petition, prepared by the Ramallah office of attorneys Aziz, Fuad and Raja Shehadeh and by attorney Avigdor Feldman, cites several incidents as evidence of the bias of the Planning Department. These include:

1. The Planning Department's refusal to grant a licence to the university to build a Fine Arts Building. The application was submitted November 22, 1983, and no technical or legal objections were brought against the proposed building, which falls within the university zone, approved since 1975.

2. The Planning Department's failure to remove a fence built without a licence within the university campus. This fence has stood since April 1984, despite repeated protests, and causes inconvenience to university students and faculty and obstruction to the university.

3. The Planning Department's failure to stop a building being constructed adjacent to the university and well within the enlarged university zone. Several irregularities exist in the licence. These have been brought to the attention of the Planning Department but it has failed to stop the building and investigate the matter as it is obliged to do by the law.

DFPE and PLP Evaluate Election Results

The veteran Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) won four seats in the eleventh Knesset and its rival, the newly formed Progressive List for Peace (PLP), won two seats. Throughout the campaign, observers saw little difference in the political programmes of the two blocs: both support the establishment of the independent Palestinian state and self-determination and call for an international conference, to be attended by all sides, including the PLO. In the three months leading up to election day, July 23, competitive, acrimonious campaigns were waged by the two blocs. Both considered their main constituencies to be Palestinians, with only marginal appeal to progressive Israelis. The PLP proposed to tie extra votes with the DFPE, but the Rakah Communist Party-dominated Front refused. Mohammed Mi'ari, who headed the PLP, and Emil Tuma, head of the DFPE electoral campaign and Rakah member, commented to *Al Fajr* on the elections.

Emil Tuma said: "We believed that the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality should have won five seats. However, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality maintained its previous strength. Seventy thousand people voted for the DFPE. This means that our share of the support of the masses is very good.

"We cannot say that the results of the election are positive. Kahane, head of the Kach extremist terrorist organisation, won one seat and Tehiya won an additional seat. Israeli society has a right-wing tendency."

Tuma expressed the position of the DFPE to the matter of forming a government: "We are against Likud and we are against a national unity government. This does not mean that we support the Alignment. We would appeal to the would-be formed government to participate in the peaceful march. Our political programme focuses on two points: the establishment of the Palestinian independent state and calling for convening an international conference. All Zionist blocs say no to withdrawal from the occupied territories to the pre-1967 borders, no to withdrawal from Jerusalem, no to the Palestinian state, no to negotiations with the PLO and no to withdrawal from south Lebanon."

Tuma also explained the reasons for the DFPE's refusal to exchange surplus votes with the PLP. He said: "We did so for three reasons: first, because the PLP submits itself as an alternative bloc to the DFPE; secondly, because of its campaign against Communism and the Soviet Union and the historic struggle of the DFPE; and thirdly, we did not like to give the PLP legitimacy." Mi'ari expressed his concern to be allied with the DFPE if its supporters stop their campaign against the PLP. Tuma said: "The PLP is anti-Soviet. In future, we will see and examine their real attitudes in practice."

Mi'ari, the first Palestinian to head a successful Knesset list, told *Al Fajr*: "The results of the Knesset elections in general indicate that the extremist line still prevails in Israel. This line, which does not recognise Palestinian rights, is still strong and effective in Israeli society. For our bloc, the PLP," Mi'ari continued, "we achieved a great victory." Two representatives of the PLP now have a greater mission towards the Palestinians and finding a just solution for the Palestinian cause."

On the attitude of the PLP regarding alliance with one of the two main parties, Likud and Alignment, Mi'ari said: "We refuse to ally with Likud and do not support the idea of 'national unity government.' We did not enter the Knesset to support the Alignment. If the Alignment wants our support, it should agree with our conditions:

"Declare its support for convening an international conference attended by all parties, including the PLO;

"Stop the settlements;

"Cancel the 1945 emergency regulations;

"Endorse equal budgets for Arab and Israeli village local councils;

"Announce that the Arabic language is an official language of the state;

"End the green patrol activities and solve the problems of the Beduin;

"Offer both Arabs and Jews equal state insurance benefits."

Settler Dealt Light Sentence for al-Aqsa Terror Plot

Israeli district court in Jerusalem sentenced one member of the Jewish terrorist group to 18 months imprisonment July 19 for taking part in a plot to blow up the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. The light sentence was the result of a deal in which charges of membership in a terrorist group were dropped. The Jewish terrorist, who is known as Yehuda Cohen, confessed to three surveillance missions of the mosque area in order to study the security arrangements. He revealed that the terrorists were planning to occupy the mosque compound and to mine the Dome of the Rock building. The terrorist said that another member of the group told him that between 24 to 48 men would be needed to carry out such an attack, and that they must first control one of the gates from inside. The settlers originally planned to blow up the mosque on the eve of either the Jewish feast of Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) or *pessah* (passover) "in order to arouse the spirit of the Jewish people."

The settler claimed that the plans were dropped after Israeli border guards and policemen were stationed at the mosque compound. Haim Druckman, member of the Israeli Knesset and head of the Morasha Knesset List, condemned the sentence and described it as a "horrible injustice."

Convicted terrorist settlers are sent to Telmond prison, which is normally reserved for juveniles and has better conditions than any other prison.

BZU Faculty, Employees Elect Independent Union

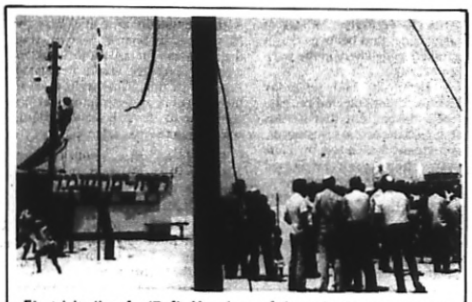
Bir Zeit University faculty and employees elected July 17 a nine-member committee to represent them in the coming year. Fifteen individuals ran for the elections, although discussions went on before the election among those who could work together in an administrative committee.

Immediately before the election process on election day, nine nominees agreed to have their names printed together in one list and distributed a programme of action if they won election. Eight of the nine won. Their major goals, according to their printed brochure, are: implementation of democratic elections; activation of the union aspect of the union by improving the condition and salaries of workers; widening the scale of women's participation in the union and improving their conditions; deepening academic freedom at the university; a more serious relationship between students and teachers.

The winning union members are Tamer Isawi (president), Fuad Rajab, Lisa Taraki, Najwa Jardali, Adel Zagha, Omar Safi, Ghassan Khatib, Sami Khadr and Mohammed Shtayeh. Shtayeh was not originally among the nine.

3 Gaza Settlements Open on Election Eve

The Israeli authorities inaugurated three new settlements in the occupied Gaza Strip on the eve of the Israeli elections, July 22. The joint ministerial committee on settlements and the World Zionist Organisation (WZO) settlement committee also approved the construction of another Gaza settlement and two additional settlements in the occupied West Bank.



Electricity lines for 'Rafia-Yam,' one of three elections settlements in the Gaza Strip.

Israeli settlers officially opened Rafiah Yam, near Rafah and Nitzanit settlement which is a former nahal (military) outpost in the northern part of the Gaza Strip. More than 15 families moved into each of the two settlements. Ultra-religious settlers are scheduled to move into the third settlement, Netzarim, which was a WZO camp for training new settlers.

On the same day, Israeli settlement authorities approved the construction of Tirza settlement, near the town of Tubas, Jenin district, an unnamed fishing settlement near Gaza City, and a third one, two kilometres east of Qalqilya. Israeli observers say the construction of Tirza settlement will complete the encirclement of Nablus with Israeli settlements on all sides.

The settlements were approved inspite of the Labour party's attempts to delay such a move. *The Jerusalem Post* stated that four Labour Alignment members on the WZO settlement committee appealed to the Israeli prime minister to postpone the meeting of the joint ministerial-WZO committee until after the elections. The head of the committee, minister of science and technology, Yuval Ne'eman, however, secured the approval of a number of ministers to hold the meeting.

In the two weeks prior to Israeli elections a total of 16 settlements have been approved by governmental bodies, or actually set up by Israeli settlers in various parts of the occupied territories. Even squatter settlers received unofficial government approval and material assistance from the army for their incursion onto Palestinian land.

continued from page 1

Elections

Bassam Shaka'a, elected mayor of Nablus, called the election results "traditional, with most of the votes going to Zionist parties." Shaka'a, whom the military dismissed from office in 1981, told *Al Fajr* that the election results will "complicate things more and the situation will get even worse than it is." Shaka'a attacked Arab regimes' hopes about the Israeli elections. He said that the Arab regimes have always given a lot of importance to Israeli elections because of their own "ineptness and their distance from reality."

Ramallah journalist Maamoun Sayyed said the elections "reflected the political, economic and social dilemma in Israel as well as the dilemma facing those on the Arab scene who were waiting for the Labour Party to win." Sayyed noted that, even if a miracle did take place and the Alignment was able to form the next Israeli government, "it will not be able or ready to negotiate with any Arab or Palestinian side regarding a just and comprehensive peace in the area." Sayyed said that a unity government between the two major parties would be a victory for the Likud.

Ibrahim Dakkak, head of the Federation of West Bank Professional Unions told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli election results show a "shift to the right and a clear-cut distancing from the way of peace." Dakkak said that the election campaign indicated the Labour Party "moving to the right to become a Likud 'B' party."

Akram Haniyeh, head of the Arab Journalists Association, said the results "reflect the depth of the crisis in the expansionist policy adopted by the ruling parties." Haniyeh, the editor-in-chief of *Al Sha'ab* daily, said that the entry of Kahane to the Knesset and the gains by the right-wing Tehiya Party are a sign of the move towards racism in the Israeli public. Haniyeh feared that the coming days will see an increase in the oppressive action against the Palestinian people now that the Likud has been given the mandate to continue its hard-line policies.

Dr Haidar Abd al-Shafi, head of the Gaza Red Crescent Society, was reluctant about commenting on the election, which he called an internal Israeli question. However, he felt the results were indicative of a shift to the right and expressed satisfaction that the Democratic Front for Peace and Eqality was able to hold its own in the elections.

The Dawn

AL FAJR

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Passing on the Right

July 23 the Israeli public went to the election polls to cast their ballots. The preceding Knesset set that date in order to save the state from its internal crisis which, since the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and possibly earlier, has led to instability and economic chaos.

On the part of the Israeli Labour Alignment, elections were given utmost importance. After being pushed out of the government in 1977 and failing to return in 1981, the Labour Party thought the chance was ripe in 1984. They forgot that the Israeli public itself had pushed them from power after being fed for almost thirty years on Labour Zionism. The Labour Party and Labour-like parties had deepened their understanding of the Israeli social structure and their commitment to the Zionist ideology.

Zionism, as rightfully described by the United Nations Organisations as a form of racism, educates its followers to accept the racial purity and superiority of the followers of the Jewish faith, that Palestine was 'empty of people' and that the Palestinian people simply does not exist.

Despite the proven incapability of the Likud coalition to run the Jewish state, the Israeli public can only move in one direction: deeper into its belief of Zionist ideology. Labour and even Likud coalitions are losing votes to parties and movements which move even faster to the extreme right.

Fascist Kahane of the Kach movement wins election. The Tehiya party and ally Rafael Eitan with his statements of hatred against 'goyim' gain seats. Ultra-religious parties gain a bigger foothold in the Knesset.

The elections have proven again that the Zionist ideology can only lead its followers in one direction: a good lesson for all those who believed and counted on a Labour Party victory, whether they be among the Israelis or among the Arabs.

Our Palestinian people has understood this lesson since the early days of Palestinian-Zionist encounters in Palestine. It has been bolstered by the experience we have gained since then. The latest Israeli Knesset elections have brought Israel several more steps to the right, but along the path to a precipice – the brink of economic and political disaster for Zionism.

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The Aden Unity Statement: The PLO Deals with Internal Criticism

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

Immediately following its departure from Beirut in late summer of 1982, the PLO, drawing on its fighters' brave stand against the Israeli army, scored some important political victories, not the least of which was the audience granted by Pope John Paul to Chairman Yasir Arafat, as well as other meetings Arafat had with Greek, Italian and other high officials. The 'dawn' period for the PLO followed the Fatah mutiny, PLO-Syrian friction, the fighting in Tripoli and finally the disagreement within the PLO with Arafat's visit to Cairo upon his departure from Tripoli in north Lebanon. This mixture of events weakened the PLO, hurt its international stand and paralysed its institutions.

The agreement which was reached in Aden among five Palestinian groupings was the fruit of months of discussions brought about with the help of the governments of Algeria and South Yemen. The five groups (Fatah, PFLP, DFLP, Palestinian Communist Party and the Palestinian Liberation Front) issued a statement June 26 indicating that agreement was reached on all issues in question, most importantly the convening of the PNC, now proposed for no later than September 15. Drs Rashid Khalidi and Mohammed Hallaj read the Aden talks just concluded as the beginning of a new and more fruitful period. Although signs of encouragement are visible from Palestinians we talked to, the evaluation of this agreement, Rashid Khalidi said, "has to wait until we see the results of the PNC." If the issues agreed upon "lead to a new form of unity and that is confirmed by the PNC, then it will be a step forward." Somehow sceptical, however, Khalidi, who is now writing a book about the 1982 war in Lebanon, said that what is required at this stage "has to be more than a question of simply standing together and raising hands in victory." The problem, he continued, is how to develop a "realistic strategy which answers the needs of Palestinians under occupation...." who, as the PLO's multiple constituency, have different kinds of problems.

UN Conference on Palestine, August 1983: 'How do we put the Palestinian question back at the head of everybody's agenda?"

Exclusion of Fatah Dissidents

The parties to the agreement did not include the Fatah dissidents who, in a statement from Damascus, condemned the agreement and reaffirmed their stand that Yasir Arafat must resign his position as Executive Committee Chairman. Also excluded were PFLP-GC, Saiqa and others.

Mohammed Hallaj, director of the Palestine Research and Educational Centre in Washington, agreed with the exclusion of these groups. "Every polity," he said, "and we are one, sets limits in terms of permissable dissent." Though, he added, it is not always easy to define where the limits to dissent should be drawn. Groups which by their behaviour "violated [the] two cardinal rules of the Palestinian national movement, independence and respect for institutions and procedures," Hallaj said, should be excluded from decision-making. The logic behind this, he said, is that these two achievements are two of "our greatest achievements and we paid dearly for them," considering that not one inch of our territory has been liberated. When dissent harms these two highly important achievements, which are directly related to "recreating or resurrecting the Palestinian nation, and comes in form of an armed assault" on Palestinian inhabitants, "it becomes too serious an offence." Hallaj concluded, "This defies the boundaries of permissable dissent."

While fully agreeing that the mistakes committed by the Fatah dissidents were "very serious," Khalidi preferred to take another route with them; everybody made mistakes. "If there is going to be a process of reconciliation, many of them... should be brought in," he said. Khalidi would rather steer away from 'vindictiveness' for the sake of reconciliation. He believed it is unlikely that the dissidents could cause problems, since "they never really achieved a breakthrough with mass public opinion."

Deputies to the Chairman

As a means of regulating the activities of Arafat and guaranteeing the execution of decisions taken by the Executive Committee, the conferees in Aden agreed to appoint three deputies to the chairman, establishing a secretariat general, and to expand the elected Central Council.

"If it works," Khalidi said of these changes, "it is an excellent package," adding, "reform is a wonderful thing." Affirming that he has no problems with the changes, Hallaj expressed some worry about how these changes came about. His ambivalence is that these changes or reforms "came within an atmosphere of conflict over leadership and if they were adopted as a watered-down version of 'let's get Mr Arafat,' then it is bad." It would be wrong, Hallaj added, to approach these moves in "the spirit of a watchdog over somebody who cannot be trusted." He continued saying that, within a revolution, such moves should not end up handcuffing our moves, especially "since we constantly live in a state of emergency, fighting for our lives." Hallaj provided the same argument for an expanded Central Committee and Secretariat General: that it should be done in good faith.

"Where Do We Go from Here?"

Cementing differences among factions of the Palestinian movement, and thus strengthening national unity in the present circumstances, is certainly a giant step forward, yet it is not an end, but a means towards an end. Among ideologically diverse groups, it is agreed, unity can produce inaction. To Rashid Khalidi, the biggest problem is "where do we go from here, and how do we put the Palestinian question back at the head of everybody's agenda?"

Affirming the existence of ideological differences among the Palestinian factions, Khalidi still sounds optimistic about their ability to work together. "It is possible," he said, "if you remove external interference" in

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Israeli journalist Uri Avneri describes the racist Kach movement of militant rabbi Meir Kahane as the "people of darkness." He found Kach sharing a High Court bench with him when he wrote the following article for *HaOlam HaZeh*. Kahane will represent the fascist movement in the new Knesset.

Kach Seeks Knesset Forum for Racist Legitimacy

I was sitting on the bench in the High Court. On a bench nearby 'Rabbi' Meir Kahane was sitting. Jewish and Arab peace-seekers were mixed with the *kippa*-wearing racists. Both were fighting the same war: the struggle for their right to participate in the elections.

Outside, Kahane made bloodthirsty promises. After he is elected to the Knesset he will do horrible things to the Arabs and to traitors like us. But inside the courtroom we were compelled to struggle together because the court had joined our appeals for legal reasons.

The hunter-wolf and the proposed prey were sitting together: those who demand the right to establish concentration camps and those who are intended for imprisonment in them, potential expulsionist and potential expelled.

People of light and people of darkness together on one side of the barricade and the state prosecution on the other side.

The arguments raised by our lawyers — a brilliant set of jurists with a deep moral conscience — also helped Rabbi Kahane to gain a foothold in the Knesset building.

> "Kahane demands the withdrawal of citizenship from the 700,000 Arab citizens of Israel, who are 17 percent of the state's population."

Indeed, a Kafkaesque situation.

It was created by plotters on the Central Elections Committee, who made a common plot according to the sacred principle of 'rub my back, I'll rub yours,' or 'one dirty hand washes another:' Alignment activists, who helped the Likud to ban the Progressive List for Peace, and Likud activists, who helped the Alignment to cancel Kahane.

More precisely: the Likud people, who helped the Alignment and Rakah get rid of the Progressive List, and the Likud and Rakah people who helped Likud and Tehiya get rid of Kahane.

And to be even more precise: the intrigue of all of them together to eliminate the appearance of the Jewish-Arab list that is breaking the 'national consensus,' while using Rabbi Kahane as an alibi.

This plot was defeated by the High Court, the last bastion of Israeli democracy. As a result, Meir Kahane and his company were also facilitated in participating in the democratic elections. Is this good or bad for Israeli democracy?

During the court hearing, the prosecution brought out a long list of quotations that prove that there is almost no difference between the Nazis, on the eve of their coming into power and in the first years of their being in power, and the Kahane group.

Kahane demands the withdrawal of citizenship from the 700,000 Arab citizens of Israel, who are 17 percent of the state's population. Adolf Hitler stated, in the official programme of his party *(The 25 Principles)*, that a man who had no 'German blood' could not be a citizen of the state.

Kahane demands five years imprisonment for every Jewish woman who has sexual relations with an Arab and for every Arab who has sexual relations with a Jewish woman. (What about a Jewish man having sexual relations with an Arab woman?) This is a precise copy of Hitler's Nuremberg Laws and the idea of 'desecration of the race.'

> "Kahane demands 5 years imprisonment for every Jewish woman who has sexual relations with an Arab and for every Arab who has sexual relations with a Jewish woman."

Hitler promised that he would come into power only by 'legal means.' He also promised that after he came to power, a Nazi court would be established and then "heads would roll on the ground."

Kahane's lawyer said in the court that it is forbidden to label him 'racist.' There is a deep difference, he said, between racism and Kahane's struggle 'for the protection of the Jewish character' of the state.

Kahane himself wrote in his statement to the court that there is a basic difference between his doctrine and that of the Nazis: every man may convert to Judaism according to the *Halacha*, while no one could join the Aryan race according to Hitler's doctrine. This is the 'main difference.' It means that in the other important points there is an identity between Hitler's doctrine and the gospel according to Kahane.

Indeed, this is nothing but a semantic difference. It is true that Kahane is not 'racist' in the literary meaning of the word, which puts the principle of race as an exclusive basis for discrimination. However, does he justify the Spanish Inquisition, which enabled every Jew and Muslim to convert to Christianity instead of being burned on the altar? And, indeed, even converting to Judaism isn't a right open to everyone.

What will Kahane say if two million Arabs proclaim tomorrow their willingness to convert to Judaism in order to return to their houses according to the Law of Return?

During the hearing, Kahane's lawyer brought a long list of quotations from the Bible (Old Testament) in order to prove that Kahane is the one who acts according to the *Halacha*. In these quotations, there is a reference to "the sacred sperm" — a quite racist term. The expulsion of the foreign women in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah was also a definitely racist act, which didn't leave these women with the possibility of conversion according to the *Halacha*.

No doubt — and this should be said without masquerading — the Bible contains definite racist pieces. These are taught nowadays in the Israeli schools as the Doctrine of Sinai and are educating a new generation of Kahane's disciples.

Only a few teachers dare to say the truth: this racism fitted primitive conceptions of 2500 years ago which are despised in the view of enlightened modern man, Jewish and non-Jewish alike.

However, all these word games are totally unnecessary. Whoever speaks in our time about 'racism' doesn't necessarily mean the details of the Nazi or the South African doctrines. The meaning of racism is any regime or movement that discriminates between one human and another because of nationality, religion, race or sect.

From this point of view, Kahane is a racist: not almost-Nazi, not pseudo-Nazi, not neo-Nazi, but Nazi in its simple meaning.

Should such a man be allowed to participate in the elections for the Knesset?

In the course of the hearing I had a long time to think about this. I had no envy for the judges who had to decide on this issue. However, like them, I also came to the answer, with an aching heart, that it is impossible to prevent it.

There would be a state of total absurdity if it was forbidden to say things on the Knesset platform that one may say openly in the street, on squares, in the press and on television and radio.

> "There is no law in the state that prohibits preaching for racist hatred."

If people want to put an end to the poisonous doctrine of Kahane, the place for that is not in the Central Elections Committee. The place for that is in the law. It is a shame that in the thirty-seventh year of the state of Israel's existence there is no law in the state that prohibits preaching for racist hatred, of the sort that exists in many states and foremost in Germany.

The state of Israel pretends to be the state of those who survived the Holocaust, the state for the Nazi victims. However, in Israel it is permitted to preach the Nazi doctrine — on condition that it is aimed towards non-Jews. If there existed in Israel a law to prohibit racism and if the willingness and the means existed to activate it, Rabbi Kahane and his gang would have been imprisoned long ago and it would not be necessary to eliminate them by contrived means from running for Knesset. Every word coming out of their mouths would constitute a crime. I have always claimed that the Nazi 'thinkers' were responsible for Auschwitz and Dachau more than the small hobnailed troops who activated the gas chambers and the torture cellars and who were executed after the war.

The professors who wrote the academic books about the 'master race,' the journalists and the speakers who convinced the millions of Germans to accept the gospel of Hitler were not less guilty — and maybe even more — than Adolf Eichmann.

Let's not ignore the danger that is involved with the legislation of such a law. The law is legislated by the majority in the Knesset. What kind of a law against racism may be legislated in the Knesset when its deputy chairperson calls to gouge out eyes and to tear out guts?

The Central Elections Committee is composed in proportion to the departing Knesset. In the committee, Roni Milo and Geula Cohen have dominated and they were also ruling in the Knesset itself.

Would the Knesset legislate a law that would outlaw Geula Cohen herself together with Yuval Ne'eman, Rabbi Waldman, Meir Cohen-Avidov, Rafael Eitan and the like? It is more reasonable to presume that when coming to limit the right of speech and preaching, they would not direct their energy towards the elimination of racism but towards the elimination of the peace forces, those who preach for historical reconciliation between Israel and Palestine.

Not that the racists would find themselves in prison, but instead the 'traitors,' 'haters of Israel,' 'PLO-ists,' 'defeatists.' The experience of the Central Elections Committee proves this. And it is possible to say that a democracy that needs such a law will not be helped by it. And a democracy where such a law will help it doesn't need it.

However, beyond the theoretical examination exists the practical examination: would the blocking of Kahane's way to the Knesset change the situation? In the controversial court decision on the cancellation of the *al-Ard* list 19 years ago, the judges spoke about the 'self-defending democracy.' They brought up the experience of the German Weimar Republic as definite proof. The Nazis, they said, used the democratic rules of the game in order to destroy democracy. They participated in the Reichstag itself. The Republic fell down because it adhered to democracy and didn't defend itself accurately against its destroyers. With due respect to the judges, these statements are false. More precisely they are naive.

A year before it came to power in the elections of March 1932, Hitler's party obtained about 11 million votes, which constituted 30 percent of the total vote. About a month later, in elections for the presidency, Hitler obtained about 13 million votes — or 36 percent.

At the same time, the Nazi stormtroopers counted 400,000 members — among them were many career soldiers and those who were living at the expense of the party. It is a total absurdity to presume that it is possible to leave a third of the people outside the parliament or that this changes anything.

If the Nazis could not have been in the Reichstag, it would not have changed the relations of powers in the slightest. The struggle for the future of Germany didn't take place in the Reichstag hall but on the trains, in the street and in millions of houses. In the Reichstag only the results were seen.

German democracy died because it was important to hardly anyone in Germany, because no one was prepared to protect it, nor to speak for or to die for it. Hitler expressed the German mood that prevailed then in an increasingly growing section of the German people.

Does such a danger exist in Israel also? Of course it exists! It is possible that Kahane is more loathed than all because he wholeheartedly and in an outspoken way expresses what wide circles in Israel are thinking now.

Is there indeed any difference between him and Geula Cohen? Are the 'drugged cockroaches' of Rafael Eitan, No 2 candidate of Tehiya, really different from the 'Jewish subhuman' of Hitler? Is the style of Cohen-Avidov really so

continued on page 13

The Women's Work Committee, the oldest and largest of the alternative women's organisations in the occupied territories, produced its second annual magazine last month. The result is a more polished, deeper look at the situation of women and other political issues, local organising in the past year, woman prisoners, and the women's movement in other countries. Awad Abdel Fattah, *Al Fajr's* feature editor, reviews the magazine.

Kifah al-Mara'a: The WWC's Magazine of Women's Struggles

Kifah al-Mara'a (The Woman's Struggle) is the name of a new single-issue women's magazine issued by the Federation of Women's Work Committees in June. Single-issue women's magazines are issued regularly by the Federation and *Kifah al-Mara'a* shows increasing experience in the quality of writing and in coverage of women's issues by the Federation, especially when compared to *Sawt al-Mara'a* (The Voice of Woman) which the WWC issued last year. It has a more attractive format and better production and, more importantly, it is both a deeper and more comprehensive look at women's situation.

Although the magazine concentrates on Palestinian women in Palestine, and mainly in the 1967 occupied territories, it contains articles on the women's struggle in Vietnam and Sudan. The oppression of women is approached from a Marxist perspective.

The issue of PLO national unity is the central focus of the introduction. "Our people, and including women, " the introduction says, "value the political statement which was issued on March 27 by the Democratic Alliance...the struggle for the restoration of the unity of the PLO necessitates setting up a broad national alliance to counter the danger of splits and divisions within the organisation."

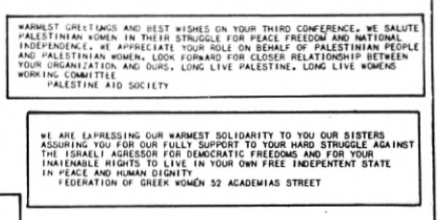
Under the title "The Struggle of Woman under Various Economic Systems," Zahira Kamal, the secretary of the Federation, traces women's struggle and the change in traditional social norms related to women which prevailed under the feudal system. She highlights the different stages of the struggle beginning with the social oppression of the feudal period and moving to the exploitation of women in the factories during the industrial revolution in Europe in the 18th century. Also, she refers to the battles to achieve equal rights with men. In her view, the socialist regime is the only one which can secure equal rights for women, but she notes that women in the Soviet Union have not succeeded in abolishing their inferior place in the home.

Dr Najwa Makhoul, a social scientist from Galilee, deals with the position of Palestinian women within the 1948 borders of Israel. Makhoul discusses the emergence of Palestinian women in the ranks of the proletariat and their increasing role in the class struggle. She explains the Palestinian woman's move from work in the house to work in the factory and the dual oppression resulting from this development. "Until 1967," she writes, "women's participation in wage labour was confined mainly to the professional fields and services including teaching, while hired female labour was confined to seasonal work in Jewish-dominated agriculture." She continues, "In the period between the 1967 war and the 1973 war, the Israeli economy witnessed a deep change which left its mark on the character of the Palestinian village and on the role of women. The village, which was a production unit based on semi-self-sufficiency, turned suddenly into a unit where only women and children remained during the day and to which male workers returned at night after working outside the village."

Elaborating on this point, Dr Makhoul notes that the mechanisation of housework due to increased purchasing power and the breakdown of the traditional agricultural society, resulting from the land confiscation policy, has led to a decrease in the amount of housework, resulting in more working power.

Poster in memory of Ilham Zarour, martyred last year, and all women martyrs.

Clockwise from top: *Kifah al-Mara'a* logo; solidarity greetings to WWC on Int'l Women's Day; illustration for pre-natal exercises; Terese Halaseh, whose life as a *fedaiya* is recounted.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Activities

Several pages of the magazine are devoted to the activities of the Federation. The local celebrations on International Women's Day, March 8, are covered, with photographs of some of the activities and art exhibitions.

The decisions of the WWC's third annual conference, which dealt with the general struggle of the Palestinian people and the struggle of the women's movement in the occupied territories, are also published. Also, the magazine reprinted messages of greetings sent by Arab and Palestinian women's movements in a number of Arab countries such as the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Sudan, Oman and Iraq.

Two articles deal with the struggle of the Palestinian women prisoners. One details the nine-month strike waged by the 25 women prisoners in Neve Tertza prison to improve their conditions of detention. It ends with an evaluation of the "militant and courageous stand of the woman who succeeded in forcing the prison authorities to comply with 70 percent of their demands."

In the second article, Terese Halaseh, from Acre, one of the woman prisoners released in the Palestinian-Israeli prisoners exchange last November, tells her story — how she joined the Palestinian resistance, her arrest and life in the prison, giving a picture of what is happening behind the bars.

With regard to the Vietnamese woman, there is an article summarising her active role in the liberation of Vietnam from American imperialism and in the economic, social and cultural reconstruction after the defeat of the American forces.

The article on Sudanese women discusses the traditional norms in Sudan which hinder the development of the women's struggle. But it also covers the achievements of the Sudanese woman in her participation in economic and social life.

Besides these main articles there are more than fifteen shorter items on a wide variety of subjects including the physiology of giving birth, home education for children, popular arts, illiteracy courses, Palestinian women and agriculture, and the national heritage. The inside back cover contains a poster depicting a picture of a woman embraced by the map of Palestine with a fist in the background. It is dedicated to Ilham Zarour, a 17-year-old Nablus woman who was martyred last year, and to all women martyrs.

Infant health care instructions.

Said al-Ghazali spoke to some prominent Muslim Brothers in the West Bank to understand their ideology, local institutions and political activities. He also discusses the major criticisms against Islamic fundamentalists by Palestinian nationalists.

Muslim Brothers' Collision Course with Palestinian Nationalists

The so-called 'Islamic movement' attempts to present a religious ideology based on the first Islamic period as an alternative to national and revolutionary ideologies in the world. However, it has been unable to formulate a coherent comprehensive theory which can successfully tackle the crises of the world.

In the occupied territories, the movement has not been able to provide sophisticated intellectuals or capable theologians who can mobilise the masses.

Political slogans of the 'Islamic movement' in the occupied territories have changed since the early 1970s from an indirect and reluctant rebuff of PLO factions to a direct and enthusiastic criticism of the PLO's political and ideological programmes.

Palestinian nationalists and leftists believe that the supporters of the Islamic movement took advantage of the partial eviction of the PLO fighters from Tripoli and the war in Lebanon to convince Muslims in general that the PLO is no longer able to meet the aspirations of the Palestinian people. The movement has also attacked ideologies of nationalism, secularism, socialism, and Communism.

Because of the bad image that some Muslims have of the Muslim Brothers — whether for historical, religious, political or ideological reasons — supporters and members of the Muslim Brothers, the largest Islamic group in the occupied territories, tactically deny the existence of their organisation. However, they acknowledge that the Islamic movement includes various Islamic parties.

Muslim Brothers, unable to accept any principles other than their own, have attacked all countries, philosophies, ideologies, doctrines and principles of the world and therefore are prone to dogmatism.

Muslim Brotherhood doctrine requires women to wear long dresses and scarves covering the entire body. Contact and relations between men and women are discouraged and even educated women may not preach in mosques – they may only educate other women.

An Elderly Muslim Brother

Haj Radi Salaymeh, 78, from Jerusalem, a colleague of Hassan Banna, the founder of the Islamic movement in Egypt, joined the Islamic movement in Egypt and worked as the Muslim Brothers' treasurer of Rawda Mosque in Cairo. He and some of his colleagues founded centres of the Muslim Brothers in Jaffa, Haifa, Acre and Jerusalem. "In the 1950s," Salaymeh said, "Muslim Brothers organised their movement here and formed so-called family units to attract new members to the movement to study the principles of Islam." Israeli authorities asked him in the early 1970s to restart Muslim Brother activities at their 30-year-old centre in Jerusalem. Salaymeh refused. He told *Al Fajr* that there is an underground movement of Muslim Brothers in the occupied territories. He praised the Muslim Brother hierarchy in Jordan, headed by Mohammed Abd al-Rahman Khalifeh, and the Jordanian minister of the *Waqf*, Kamel al-Sharif, for their activities in the Brotherhood in coordination with the West Bank group. He was sentenced to death for his activities in Egypt in 1954 and fled the country.

A Young Preacher

Sheikh Fadel, a young preacher in Ramallah mosques, believes that Islam is in the stage of 'awakening.' Surrounded by his followers in al-Bireh Mosque and wearing a long white *galabiya*, he said that the number of supporters of the Islamic movement is growing. He gave as visual evidence for the Islamic awakening the increasing number of women who wear Islamic dress. He said: "eleven mosques are built in Ramallah district every year and it is easy to observe many young Muslims in mosques."

According to *Sheikh* Fadel, awareness of Islam has increased due to the ineffectiveness of other world theories and the failure of the PLO programmes to liberate Palestine. However, *Sheikh* Fadel was unable to explain in detail the tactical political steps which would lead to the establishment of the panacea, the Islamic state.

Sheikh Fadel justified the failure of the Islamic blocs to win the elections in various West Bank universities by claiming that the students were preoccupied with electing members of the national bloc at the time of the crisis in Tripoli.

"Muslim Brothers, unable to accept any principles other than their own, have attacked all countries, philosophies, ideologies, doctrines and principles of the world, and therefore are prone to dogmatism."

The Islamic Movement's Influence Weakens

A nationalist from Nablus, who performs daily prayers and served 20 years in jail for membership in an illegal organisation, said that the Islamic movement is experiencing a decline. He points to the fact that the Islamic blocs lost in the elections in most student councils of local academic institutions in the occupied territories.

In 1981, the Islamic bloc at Najah University in Nablus won all seats of the student council with 45 percent of the vote. Other votes were divided between two national blocs. In 1982 the Islamic bloc lost the election and in 1983 supporters of the Islamic bloc did not participate in the elections and demanded a change in the university bylaw to proportional representation in the students' council.

At Bir Zeit University, the highest percentage that the Muslim Brothers harvested was in 1980, when they won 40 percent of votes. By the 1983 election this had fallen to 25 percent. They also lost the student council at the polytechnic and at Hebron University.

The nationalists noted that the Muslim Brothers capitalised on a prevailing lack of trust among Palestinians towards the Arab regimes to preach that an Islamic revolution was possible, especially after the victory of the Iranian revolution. He said, "Our experience with the Arab countries recorded their failures to liberate Palestine."

Clashes in Local Universities

One nationalist in the Nablus region said that Muslim brothers who lead the Islamic blocs in a number of local universities "use violence against those who do not share their views. They are against democracy, tolerance and freedom of expression." He gave the name of a mathematics teacher from Nablus school as the director of the Muslim Brothers in Nablus.

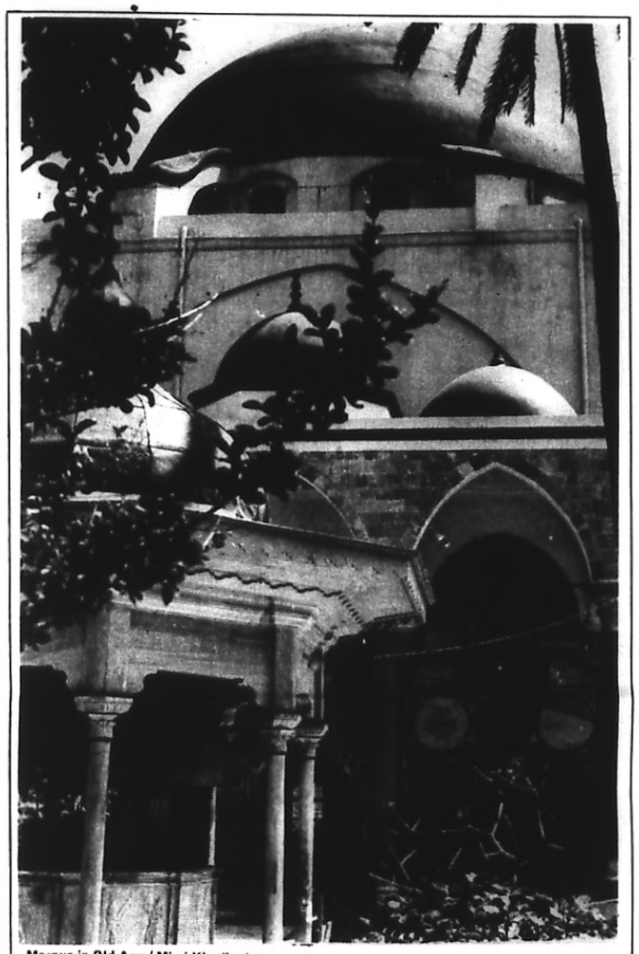
Claims

The campuses of Najah, Bir Zeit, Gaza and Hebron universities have witnessed violent clashes since 1981 between national student blocs and the Islamic blocs, who have armed themselves with iron bars, knives, stones and clubs against nationalists. In an attempt to justify these incidents, a Nablus businessperson who is a Brother claimed that national students wanted to fight the Muslim Brothers to limit their powers. He concluded that the members of the Islamic movement are quite aware of schemes of the occupation against the Palestinians and try to avoid clashes with nationalists. "People will live in trouble and division when they are away from Islam," he decided.

In the doctrine of the Muslim Brothers, women are relegated to a passive role. Contacts and relations between men and women are discouraged and women are ordered to wear long dresses covering all parts of their bodies, including their heads. Educated women who support Muslim Brothers cannot preach in mosques like men; they can only educate women about Islam.

Islamic Weddings

Muslim Brothers developed what is called the 'Islamic Wedding' in which parties with men and women together, emotional songs and dances are banned. Men gather themselves in an auditorium where portions of the *Quran* are read. Some Islamic singers recite religious hymns and a dramatic scene on an Islamic theme is performed. At the end of the wedding, the believers ask God to help and direct the bridegroom on the faithful road.



Mosque in Old Acre/ Mimi Khatib photo

Slogans of Muslim Brothers

Those who remained of the local Muslim Brothers in the early 1970s were ambivalent towards the Palestinian revolution. A common saying at the time was: "Let God protect the *fedayin* but we know that the Arab regimes will strike against them." After the 1973 war, Muslim Brothers focused on non-Islamic social aspects. In the mid-70s Communist and Marxist principles were attacked. George Habash, the general secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and Nayef Hawatmeh, the general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, were criticised because of their Christian origins and because they are Marxists. Yasir Arafat was also criticised by the Muslim Brothers for his alliance with the Marxist organisations. Muslim Brothers and most Islamic organisations oppose Marxism as a 'heathen' ideology. In 1981, a book entitled *The Red Cancer*, written by Azzam Abd al-Rahman, a lecturer in Islam at Jordan University, was distributed in the occupied territories among Muslim Brothers. The book personally attacked the leaders of the Palestinian revolution.

Prominent in Nablus

Subhi, a 52-year-old businessperson in the West Bank, is one of the Muslim Brothers' leaders who failed in the elections of 1976. Subhi and 54-year-old *Sheikh* Said, a supervisor of mosques in the Nablus district, spoke to *Al Fajr* about the role of Islam, Islamic institutions, the theory of the Islamic brothers, the use of violence by Muslim Brothers, the enemies of Islam and other topics.

At his house in the wealthy Nablus suburb of Rafidiya, Subhi said that he might participate in any 'civil administration' elections for the municipal council. Subhi introduced himself as a senior Muslim Brother who joined the movement in 1948 when he was 16. He joined a "Muslim Brothers Fighters" group at Rawda School in Jerusalem in 1948 and said he was surprised when he found prominent figures there such as Mustafa Seba'i, the dean of the Law College in Damascus and *Haj* Abd al-Latif Abu Qura, the general adviser of the Muslim Brothers in Jordan. He said: "I now do fund-raising for the Muslim Brothers in the occupied territories."

Islamic Institutions in Nablus

Subhi and Said described three Islamic institutions in Nablus. The Alms Collecting Committee which, through donations from wealthy people, provides 1000 families with a monthly stipend of JD10-25. Tadamon Charitable Society's main achievement has been the construction of an Islamic secondary school in 1982 for 425 students. Jamiat al-Ber offers loans to 600 students in local and Arab universities. But, Subhi said, the list is much longer: "We consider all institutions which are not directed by leftists and communists as Islamic institutions."

Political Theory of Muslim Brothers

A major criticism of the Muslim Brothers and other Islamic parties is that they are unable to formulate a coherent political theory. Subhi and Said admitted that they are unable to find Islamic solutions for political, economic and social problems. However, they believe that Islam is capable of solving any crises. Said admitted that the Islamic movement has not yet identified its political programmes. "Islam has not come to solve the problem of Palestine," Said said. "The Islamic movement in the occupied territories cannot be separated from the Islamic movement in the Arab world."

Subhi interrupted: "If we are not able to formulate an Islamic theory, other Islamic theologians in other countries could do so."

Enemies of Islam

Subhi and Said defined the enemies of Islam as those who do not believe in God, those who attack Islam, and those who do not govern in accordance with Islamic principles.

According to this definition, they classify George Habash, Nayef Hawatmeh and other leftists in the Palestinian revolution as unbelievers. Said classifies Yasir Arafat as an unbeliever because he believes in a secular state but Subhi argued that the establishment of a Palestinian state is a tactical decision. "I support Arafat in accordance with his support of Islam," he said. Fatah, which Arafat heads, has never disassociated itself from Islamic fundamentalism.

Islamic Teaching

Between 800 and 1000 students study Islam at 10 Islamic schools and vocational centres in Jerusalem, Ramallah, Jenin, Hebron, Nablus, and Qalqilya. This does not mean that all are Muslim Brothers. The graduates of these institutes usually are appointed as preachers in mosques and deliver lectures on politics, religion, education and social aspects of life.

A Critical View

A Palestinian resident of Nazareth, who holds two master's degrees in Islamic studies and political science from US universities and is currently a PhD student in Islamic studies, told *Al Fajr*: "What is called the Islamic movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is a movement in crises. It has, ideologically speaking, no clear doctrines and mainly only political and social ones have been presented. Because of its lack of social theory, the Islamic movement has had many failures represented by its inability to emphasise national unity and struggle against the common enemy.

"Neither has the Islamic movement been able to present a political theory that takes into account the nature of occupation and its different manifestations in the West Bank. This has made it easy prey to dogmatism, shallowness of mind and dullness of spirit.

"Furthermore, this confusion and political immaturity has led the Islamic movement to be taken advantage of by Israeli authorities. It is clear, so far, that this movement has not been created here and that to a great extent its major ideas came from Sayed Qutub, Hassan Banna, Said Hawa and others which indicates that its ideologies are not indigenous."

An Israeli Critiques Study of Arabic Press

July 15 *The Jerusalem Post* published excerpts from the findings of a recent study made by Yitzhak Rabihiya of the Hebrew University's Communications Institute on "The Arab Press in Judea, Samaria and East Jerusalem." Excerpts were taken from the minutes of a lecture given by Rabihiya in the course of a recent all-day seminar on "Arabs and Jews in the Communications Media" held on the University Campus on Mt. Scopus. *Al Fajr* asked Weingart about his opinion. He said:

As an Israeli Orientalist, who has been a veteran writer on Arab affairs since the British Mandate, I have serious objections to the findings of this study and can describe it only as a 'source of shame' to the academic standards of the Hebrew University. My involvement in this subject is two-fold.

On the one hand, my professional career, which brought me for decades into direct and daily contact with the Palestinian press during the Mandate, the Jordanian times (when I daily received the Palestinian press for my reviews) and after 1967, when I made personal contacts with the editors of the various Arab newspapers and magazines in the areas and in East Jerusalem, many of whom are my friends.

In 1974 I published my *What the Palestinians Say*.

Being myself a student at the Hebrew University's School of Asian and African Studies, I am naturally very sensitive to the good name and reputation of my University. The publication of a study with the shallowness and superficiality of that under question here, particularly in a foreign language newspaper, hurts me. If this was the real standard of academic research at my university it would make me really ashamed. Fortunately, such terrible distortion is the one exception which proves the rule, at least that which concerns studies on various aspects of Palestinian life in the areas after 1967 published under the auspices of the Hebrew University.

According to the findings of this study, in the 'pro-PLO' journals, there is: "virtually no such thing as 'a good Jewish Israeli' with the possible exception of lawyers Felicia Langer, Lea Tsemel and Amnon Zichroni, and publicist and political activist Gideon Spiro. Those journals do not even report sympathetically on the activities of such groups as Peace Now and Yesh Gvul."

Gideon Weigert

Mr Weigert's attachment to the Arabic press in this country dates back to the end of the 30 years when he began his studies in Arabic. In 1939 the Arabic weekly *Haqiqat al Amr* published his first article under the title "A Letter from a Beginner in the Arabic Language."

In the early 40 years, as a pupil of the late Khalil e-Sakakini in Arabic language and literature (he was the only Jewish graduate of Sakakini's "Al-Nahda," Arab National College, in Jerusalem, 1942). He became a contributor to such Arab publications as *Al-Sirat el Mustaqim*, (of the late *Sheikh* Abdullah al Qalqili of Jaffa), *Al Muntada* in Jerusalem and others.

In the first stage of his studies at the School for Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University on Mt Scopus (1942-45), Mr Weigert became the first Jew to broadcast Arabic talks over the Mandatory *Huna al Quds* broadcasting station in Jerusalem.

During the 1948-68 period, as a staff member at the (Palestine) later *The Jerusalem Post* (Arab affairs correspondent). Mr Weigert was a permanent contributor to the Arabic *Al Yaum* daily in Jaffa, later replaced by the Jerusalem *Al Anba* which, in the decade up to 1979, published hundreds of his contributions, including studies on the Palestinian Arabic press in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and in East Jerusalem.

He is is the author of 18 booklets, pocketbooks, surveys and pamphlets three of them in Arabic. He has also contributed to such Palestinian Arab publications as *Sawt al Gamaheer*, *Al Fajr* and *A-Shira'a*, always signing his full name. In 1979 Mr Weigert ceased to be active in journalism in order to resume full-time his studies in classical Islam at the Hebrew University where he hopes soon to begin work on his Ph.D. degree.

Let me first of all explain that the entire method of 'labelling' the Palestinian press according to 'pro-Hussein' and 'pro-PLO,' as is the practice introduced by the Israeli press, is extremely misleading and erroneous. Some of these publications are, under certain circumstances, 'pro' this camp and at other times 'pro' that camp. The clear-cut division, adopted by the author of this study, is a distortion of the truth since the only Arab paper which follows the same political line is the Communist Palestinian weekly *Al Talia*.

What is described generally in the Hebrew press as 'the PLO organ,' *Al Fajr* Arabic, has many times published articles written by what the study calls "good Israeli Jews" and interviewed dozens of others not belonging to the 'distinguished' list of names mentioned by Mr Rabihiya. There is no truth in the allegation that papers like *Al Fajr* did not give wide publicity to Israelis from the Peace Now camp or other pro-peace movements.

Saying that "only in the last year or two" did the 'pro-Hussein' press begin to report "sympathetically on such groups and to publish articles by and interviews with Israeli doves such as Abba Eban" is complete absurdity. Even the casual reader of *Al Quds* in the early 70s will recall the serialisation of Lova Eliav's book *That Glorious Land* (*Eretz Hatzvi* — a quotation from the Book of Daniel) or Mordechai Bentov's book (he was an Israeli minister of housing at that time) on Israelis and Palestinians and others.

His allegation that in "none of the journals studied mentioned — in connection with the alleged Jewish terror underground — [was there] widespread condemnation of the terrorists' acts" is pure distortion of the real position. *Al Fajr* Arabic, for example, gave widespread coverage to the movement of condemnation by Israeli public opinion of Jewish terrorist acts. Demonstrations, protests, Knesset debates and court hearings were often displayed on the paper's front page. Large coverage was also given in the daily pages entitled "From the Israeli Scene" (again in *Al Fajr*) to the reaction in the Israeli press to Jewish terrorism and its strong condemnation.

I can only conclude that the author of this study made an easy job unfit for academic study. Perhaps the best proof is the fact that, out of over three score of Palestinian publications (weeklies, fortnightlies, monthlies and periodicals) in the West Bank and East Jerusalem (without even mentioning Gaza, which he ignored completely) Rabihiya chose to include in his study only seven publications in addition to the three dailies, which he obviously did not read scrupulously. I am mystified by the question whether the author innocently did a bad job or exploited the innocence and confidence of his teachers in order to spread bias motivated by non-academic sentiments.

Israel Pushes Two-Edged Investment in South Africa

by Nehamia Strassler

Ten new Israeli investment projects were approved in 1983-84 by South African investment authorities — a significant increase over the previous year. Israel is second only to Taiwan in the size of investments in South Africa. However, a July 1 report in *The Sunday Times* exposed a conflict between South Africa and Israel over the latter's investment in the black resettlement areas, called 'homelands' by the apartheid regime.

Israeli companies that invest in what are termed 'development areas' in South Africa enjoy extraordinarily good finance terms: five percent annual rental fees for buildings and land, subsidised loans for financing equipment and other capital investments and even a return on most salary expenses by the government.

The Israeli flag waves over the new industrial area in Durban, the port town on the eastern shore of South Africa. The flag went up following the establishment of the Qama electronics plant by Kibbutz Lohamey HaGettaot [of HaKibbutzHaArtzi group of MAPAM kibbutzim — tr].

Another investment concern is the Koor Company. In spite of (former Histadrut General Secretary) Yeruham Meshel's recent statements that Koor has no connection with South Africa, the company recently entered into a partnership with Agridab (a governmental company) and the Goldschmidt group for the sale of equipment and agricultural know-how to South Africa. The South African Development Bank is financing these projects. Koor has activities with the South African Iskor Company which produces metal works. The Israeli Iskar Company, in cooperation with the local Methakor Company, produces blades for drilling mines in a factory near the Johannesburg airport. Israeli contractor Matti Liffschitz is building a giant international airport for one of the black 'homelands,' Ciskei.

Altogether, three major Israeli companies invested 2.3 million Rands in South Africa in 1982-83. In 1983-84 ten Israeli companies will invest 20.3 million Rands — a ten-fold increase over the previous year.

Eric Marsden, Johannesburg correspondent of *The Sunday Times*, reported that South African Foreign Minister R F (Pik) Botha has conveyed his country's views to Israeli Ambassador Eliahu Lankin and "given an unofficial warning that Pretoria will not accept any responsibility for any bad debts Israeli speculators may incur in the homelands."

According to the report, the South African government is becoming "restive over the intrusion of Israeli entrepreneurs and paramilitary advisers into its sphere of influence in the black homelands. Ministers are upset about uncontrolled investment in the homelands, which often conflicts with the policies suggested by South African officials, and also about schemes for cheap flights to Europe, via Israel, which are threatening the viability of South Africa's national airline."

The report estimates that there are 60 private Israeli entrepreneurs in Ciskei, "among them several ex-army officers advising on security. South African officials blame these men for Ciskei's excessive spending on luxurious schemes, causing the shelving of more urgent development projects.

"Israeli and South African businessmen have encouraged the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana to build international airports. Bophuthatswana's opened three weeks ago. It has already cost 22 million pounds sterling. Ciskei, an impoverished state on the Indian Ocean with a population of only 700,000, is building a 15 million pounds sterling airport. Both projects are likely to prove white elephants because the Israeli government has refused to grant landing rights to airlines flying from the homelands.

"So the prize has gone instead to Swaziland. Involved in the scheme are Gateway International of South Africa and an Israeli private airline Maof. The managing director of Maof is Meir Amit, former head of Israeli intelligence, who visited South Africa between 1977 and 1979 as transport minister in Menachem Begin's government.

"From September, there will be a weekly return flight from Swaziland to Israel for 500 pounds sterling, with connections to European cities for a further 180 pounds sterling. The total package undercuts the South African national airline's fare by about 300 pounds sterling."

Other South African 'complaints,' the report alleges, are that "a Tel Aviv entrepreneur named Ira Curtis tried to sell the fledgeling Ciskei airforce six faulty jets, modified for military use, and that 20 pilots have been sent for training at a private flying school in Israel at a cost of millions of dollars, though there is no aircraft for them to fly when they get home."

Curtis, the report adds: "has been indicted by a federal grand jury in Washington accused of trying to smuggle six planes to Ciskei via Israel. They were found to have defective landing gear and were seized by U S customs." Curtis has denied the American allegations and says that the indictment is "based on a misunderstanding." (Translation: HaAretz, June 20, 1984, and reprint from The Jerusalem Post)

Muhareb Dheeb Mustafa: Poetry for the People

Muhareb Dheeb Mustafa, 'Abu Suleiman,' is a popular poet who always carries a *rubabah* under his arm and is ever-ready with a beautiful song for the sake of Palestine. Abu Suleiman was born in Jaba'a, Jerusalem district, in 1918. He is the father of five sons, five daughters and hundreds of poems and national songs which are now famous in the occupied territories.

Muhareb's father, who was a tribal judge in Jerusalem, was also a popular poet. When he died in 1944, his relatives broke his *rubabah*, symbolically, at his his passing. Abu Suleiman's poetry is also one of lament. The coffee pot and the barn are part of today's heritage which will continue to accumulate for the coming generations.

Al Fajr: **How did you begin your long history of poetry and songs?**

Dheeb: In the village there was usually an assembly hall, a *diwan*, in which singing went on until midnight. Guests came on foot from outside the village, travelling for one or two days until they arrived at the *diwan*. When I was young, I took my *rubabah* and escaped with my friends into the fields where we used to sing and improvise poetry. From the *diwan* and the open field I learned poetry and singing. My father taught me the basic rules of poetry and how to play the *rubabah*.

Q: **Can you remember the first poem you recited?**

A: My first poem was abqut Abd al-Qader Husseini, Abu Mousa, the martyr of the battle of 'Qastal':

I begin my poetry by mentioning
the One, the coverer
Master of thrown, creator of the
universe and all its contents.
I wrote this poem in good rhyme
for those people who
understand its meaning.
You, Palestine, are the land of
Arabs and freemen
All friends of the prophet fought
strongly in it.
You, Palestine, have become well
known,
All countries of the West are your
enemies.
Your men, Palestine, are brought
up on revolution.
Abu Mousa was a leader, O Arabs
in Palestine,
In battles you see him with his
large army,
On the day of battle he fired
against enemies.

Q: **How do you write poems?**

A: I depend only on my memory and improvise poetry. Without preparation, I begin to recite. Poetry spontaneously flows from my heart.

Q: **Do you remember the first time you spoke into a loudspeaker?**

A: In 1952, in Abu Dis.

Q: **Have you published any books?**

A: The ministry of culture and art in Amman, Jordan, published my book, *The Popular Art*.

Q: **After the defeat of June 1967, how did your poetry develop?**

A: I believe that the popular poem has continued since 1948 until the present day. After June 1967, I said:

I salute Palestine, I salute the
Palestinian.
I salute any honest human being
who defends the cause of his
people.
I salute battles and fighters, I
salute prisoners and expelled
people.
O God, improve the conditions of
Arab people,
Restore the glory of the coasts of
Palestine:
Heroes of battles of Palestine are
well known,
They honestly sacrifice their souls
for the sake of their homeland.
I condemn those who conspired
against
Palestine or those who fled from
battles.
Anyone who fled from the battles
is no longer an honest person,
Anyone who suffered from
ordeals of battles will never
sell an inch of land.

"Anyone who fled from the battles is no longer an honest person; anyone who suffered from ordeals of battles will never sell an inch of land."/AO photo

"You, Palestine, are the land of Arabs and freemen."/AO photo

Q: **Do you create poetry on other themes?**

A: I say poems on social subjects:

If you run after pleasures on
earth,
You are mistaken;
Do not rely on it.
The earth is illusionary
and a theatre of illusions
towers up
before yourself.
Do not anger your parents;
The One, the vanquisher, will be
angry.
O God, you created paradise and
hell,
You should kiss the hands of your
parents.

I was also the narrator of the famous popular poet Nimr Edwan who wrote eulogies after the death of his young wife.

Q: **Did you recite poems abroad?**

A: Yes, I went to the United States where I recited poems and songs in 22 states. I have also sung in Jordan and Kuwait.

Q: **Did you write satirical poems?**

A: I did. All were against the enemies of the people.

Q: **What is your opinion of modern poetry?**

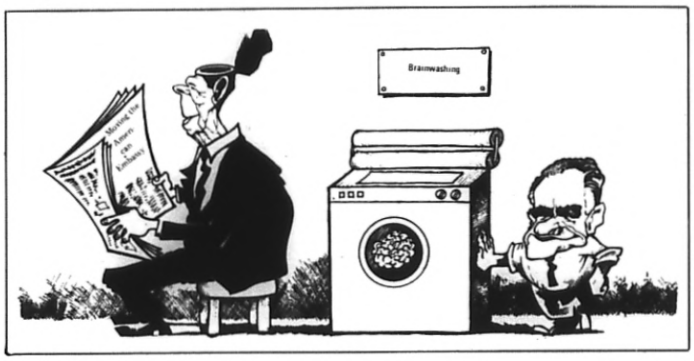
A: Modern poetry is for educated people. Ordinary uneducated people like the simplicity and directness of popular poetry. Popular poetry in colloquial language easily reaches the hearts of the people.

Q: **You spent long years creating poetry and you wrote only one book, Do you have ambitions to write another book?**

A: I hope I will do so in the future: I have written down all my poems.

(Translation: Al Fajr al-Adabi, No 45)

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Local papers this week reported extensively on the final days of the Israeli election campaign, the voting process and the results. Reports also discussed the disappointment for all those who thought that the election would solve the internal Israeli crisis or that the Labour Alignment would return to power and solve the external crisis. The local papers also gave prominence to the settlement blitz and the creation of new Israeli facts under Likud protection.

On election eve the shooting of five civilians in Nablus in the aftermath of a bomb thrown at an Israeli army patrol was the main front page story in the Palestinian press. The day following elections, **Al Fajr** and **Al Quds** focused on a statement by Hani al-Hassan on improvement in Jordanian-PLO relations.

Arab and International Dimensions

The Arab area is entering a new political reality that will have impact on the next phase. Though the particulars of this reality are not complete yet, the active political movement in most Arab capitals underlines the serious Arab interest in the next phase because of its importance and effect upon decisive decisions.

Some details of the reality were demonstrated by the press conference held by PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat in Amman.

Abu Ammar made it clear that any peace formula will not be feasible without Egypt's return to the Arab fold and without ending the Iraq-Iran war.

On the international level, he renewed the call for an international conference attended by all concerned. He asked de Cuellar , the UN Secretary- General, whom he met in Geneva, to disclose the particulars for the international conference, especially when de Cuellar had discussed the issue with Soviet and European leaders.

On the Arab level, Abu Ammar pointed out that PLO-Jordanian relations have now entered the stage of implementation of plans to counter Israeli designs to empty the occupied territories of their inhabitants.

This aspect of the cause has strategic importance, for steadfastness in the occupied territories is the cornerstone to the pursuit of the march and to the provision of opportunities for a just and comprehensive solution.

The Arab political movement will be effective in reaching the desired solution to the extent to which this Jordanian-Palestinian action in this field is based on this clear strategy, which is, in turn, dependent upon the Aden agreement.

AL FAJR
July 19

Racing and Wasting Time

Before the 1981 Israeli Knesset elections, the Israeli government started to race time to complete the implementation of the settlement plans for fear the Alignment would win the elections.

However, the Likud won them and for three years the settlement campaign went on at high speed. But this period was not enough to complete implementing those plans. The race with time has begun anew before election day next Monday.

While the Israelis are racing time, what are our Arab brothers and leaders doing in this regard? It seems that we Arabs have time as abundant as we have oil. We have no aim but to get rid of the two surpluses by all means.

To kill time, there is no other way but to wait to see first who wins the Israeli elections and then to wait longer to see who reaches the White House in the November elections.

Needless to say, nothing will happen during the waiting period because all the cards are with the other parties. We can but look on and hope for a change here or there.

So, they are racing time and we are wasting it. This view of the importance of the time factor is the dividing line between one nation and the other. The phenomenon of killing time is chronic and is repeated every time there are elections or international crises. Time has become a sword drawn over our heads, existence and fateful causes.

AL QUDS
July 19

No One Has the Right

Once again, another member of the Jewish terrorist underground is sentenced to one-and-a-half years in prison.

This terrorist was convicted of taking part in the planning to blow up al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. He was also involved in surveillance of the area for this purpose.

It seems that this charge is a trifle in the opinion of some. It therefore doesn't warrant more than this punishment: a-year-and-a-half in a comfortable prison where he is visited by ministers. He may also receive promises of high position upon his release... He may also be pardoned.... He will be portrayed as an enthusiastic son for the idea of greater Israel and will find someone at the highest levels to defend him...

AL SHA'AB
July 20

Arafat and the Nationalists

The flagrant violation by Arafat of the Aden agreement confirms beyond doubt that he is intent on going ahead on his deviationist path. He embarked on this path after his visit to the regime of Camp David.

This violation, which is characteristic of Arafat, is proof that the Palestinian factions were right in opposing his violations and in demanding his removal from the top position in the PLO. Arafat, who tried to drive a wedge into the Palestinian arena by his deviation, did not hesitate to violate the Aden agreements, which he considers as a chain that limits his movements.

The Aden agreement is proof that the balance of power in the Palestinian arena has tipped in favour of the nationalist line. It is also a true expression of the will of the masses. It has become obvious that Arafat and the nationalist line are poles apart. He should be brought down. The Fatah Central Committee should realise this fact and act accordingly.

AL MITHAQ
July 21

Tasks in the Next Stage

While the Palestinian people welcome the national unity agreement among Palestinian factions, there are still some who claim that the agreement is an "aggression against the Palestinian revolution" and a flagrant conspiracy against the PLO and its national charter.

These are the allegations of Ahmad Jibril, the 'hero' of the battles of al-Baddawi and Nahr al-Barid and Tripoli. He sided with the Syrian invasion of Lebanon in 1976. He also shelled the refugee camps, killing children and challenging the consensus of the Palestinian peoples and their adherence to legitimacy, democratic dialogue and the independence of decision making.

The attitude of Jibril and the dissidents and mercenaries is not strange. It is an admission of their absolute failure to divide and set up an alternative organisation run by Arab intelligence services. The failure has become all the more conspicuous after it was contained by the masses of the people and the agreement among the Palestinian factions.

This attitude indicates that some Arab parties are still trying to exert pressure on the PLO. Therefore, the signatories of the Aden agreement in Algeria should be motivated to adhere to it and to abort all attempts to sabotage the agreement. They should go ahead and implement the terms of the agreement and convene the PNC to ratify it and launch a new phase of Palestinian national endeavour.

AL SHA'AB
July 21

Waiting for Knesset Election Results

The Israelis go to the polls today to elect their representatives to the 11th Knesset. Forecasts indicate a tie wherein the Alignment may get a marginal majority, while the small parties, especially the rightists, will opt for a coalition with the Likud. Whatever the results of the elections, we have nothing to do with them. The situation in the occupied territories will not be changed.

We are saying this despite Labour statements asserting that its foreign policy will be more willing to make concessions for the sake of a peaceful settlement. However, the suffering of our people began under the Alignment, which occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Under the Alignment, occupation lasted 10 years, during which periodical settlements were established. No peace was achieved and the Alignment government made no concessions.

The Likud intensified settlement activity and firmly held on to the occupied territories as part of the 'Land of Israel.' The Likud considers the Arabs as creatures of less than human level: they have no rights on their land and they lack human dignity.

We wouldn't like Arab policy to be affected by the Israeli elections. But the whole region is waiting for the results of these elections. This is the situation and we have to wait.

AL QUDS
July 23

Palestine Heritage Committee Visits Local Institutions

Three executive members of the International Committee to Safeguard and Enhance Palestine Culture and Heritage arrived in the West Bank July 23 from Jordan via the Allenby Bridge. British Labour Party MP Ernie Ross, Professor Masao Miyoshi of the University of California, Berkeley, and Neiva Moreira, vice-president of the Democratic Party in Brazil, were to spend five days in visits to Palestinian institutions in an attempt to understand more about Palestinian life under occupation. The executive members had come from Amman, where their committee's executive board, headed by international jurist for peace Sean McBride, held its annual meeting.

The committee was formed in Tunis in 1982 after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. MP Ross told *Al Fajr* that the committee has so far done little more than general administrative work and meet, but should be more active in the future after signing an agreement with Alexo, ARAMCO's cultural division. Also, the committee will try to upgrade its current status with UNESCO to be eligible for more assistance. At present, committee members are trying to acquaint themselves with the needs of the area for cultural preservation and development.

The three executive members made visits to Bassam Shaka'a in Nablus, Bir Zeit University, and the Arab Thought Forum and the Arab Studies Centre in Jerusalem.

Calendar of Events

July 27, 28, 29

At the Nuzha/el Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, Tel: 288189,280957

Ali, the Galilean — The story of an Arab worker in Tel Aviv. A revised version with English guides available. 8:00 pm.

July 27 — August 12

Painting Exhibition for Shoushan Hagobian at the American Colony Hotel, Nablus Road, East Jerusalem. 9 am-12:00 and 4-8 pm.

PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES

PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES is a monthly magazine specializing in Palestinian affairs. Each issue includes articles, editorials and news items focusing on social, political and economic developments affecting the life of the Palestinian people both under Israeli occupation and in the diaspora.

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Lilienthal Visits Jerusalem

Alfred Lilienthal, author, political scientist, historian and Middle East expert, visited the occupied territories July 18 and spent a week visiting Palestinian institutions, camps and personalities. He left the area July 25.

Lilienthal, author of *What Price Peace?*, met with deposed Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka'a, al-Bireh's Ibrahim Tawil and Bir Zeit University acting president Gabi Baramki. He also lectured at the YMCA in Beit Sahour.

Lilienthal arrived in the area after visiting Iraq and Jordan. In Iraq, he attended the Baghdad conference on the Gulf war and presented a paper on the war and the means to end it. He also met with Iraqi President Sadam Hussein and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tareq Azziz. In Jordan, Lilienthal met with the Jordanian chief of staff, foreign minister and minister of information.

During his upcoming visit to Egypt, Lilienthal plans to meet the new Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismat Abd al-Majid and Minister of State Affairs Usama al-Bazz.

In a meeting with *Al Fajr* Editor Hanna Siniora, Lilienthal said that he plans to publish an update of his book *What Price Peace?* The update will cover the period 1954-1984. He also told *Al Fajr* that he has been invited to meet PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat in Tunis.

Police Circulate 'Wanted' Posters for two Jewish Terror Suspects

The national headquarters of the Israeli police distributed circulars recently to all police stations with the portraits and personal data of two of the persons suspected of participating in the Jewish underground and still at large. The two are Ira Rappaport Ben-Isaac, a Shilo settler, and Yosef Eindor Ben-Yehiel, a resident of Ofra settlement.

Rappaport, a central activist of Gush Emunim, left for the US on a mission for the Gush prior to the arrest of underground members. He is 34, 190cm tall, has brown eyes, brown hair and wears glasses. A US passport bearer, he is said to reside in Brooklyn, New York. The US embassy in Tel Aviv said it could not discuss the case without a written waiver from citizen Rappaport. The American citizens service officer in Tel Aviv suggested writing to the FBI for information.

Yosef Eindor, 34, is the brother of Meir Eindor, one of

the central activists of Gush Emunim and the spokesperson of the Committee on behalf of the Underground. He is 170cm tall, has brown eyes, brown hair and wears glasses. He is apparently in hiding somewhere in the country. (Translation: Hadashot, July 20, 1984)

Egypt Invites Pro-Jordanians To Tel Aviv Party

For the first time the Egyptian embassy invited personalities from the occupied territories to the annual reception July 22 in honour of the Egyptian national festival.

Following the Aswan talks between Sadat and Begin, concern was voiced in Jordan that Egypt would replace it in the occupied territories, and following Jordanian diplomatic activity, Egypt promised to avoid activity on the West Bank (but not in the Gaza Strip).

The Israeli daily *Al Hamishmar* commented that the invitations suggest an improvement in relations between Egypt, Jordan and the PLO following Arafat's visit to Cairo and are also an indication of an end to the atmosphere of suspicion among them.

During the previous period only pro-Israeli personalities were invited to receptions, such as Village Leaguers like Mustafa Dudin and Bishara Qumsieh. The reception in the embassy in Tel Aviv was advanced to Sunday because of the Israeli elections. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, July 18, 1984)

continued from page 10

Kach

much different from the style of Dr Sturmer? Are the Jewish terrorists who planned the blasting of the mosques and the massacre in the buses different from Kahane because they are doing covertly what he preaches overtly?

No doubt there is nowadays in Israel a strong minority of racists that has strongholds in some parties and a foothold in almost all of them.

Instead of realising this phenomenon and competing with it, the anger is directed towards Kahane, the most verbal extremist. He serves as a lightning rod almost as a deceptive manoeuvre.

While all look at him in hatred and disgust, the racist cancer is spreading in our national body from many other directions. (Translation: HaOlam HaZeh, July 5, 1984)

WEEKLY REVIEW

July 18, 1984

IMPRISONMENT FOR KALANDIA YOUTHS

RAMALLAH — Military court sentenced seven youths on charges of demonstrating, throwing stones and security violations. The military court sentenced: Yousef Shehadeh to two years-and-a-half in prison and one-and-a-half years suspended, Khaled Abu Shalbak to two years in prison and two years suspended. Ziad Ghazal to one-and-a-half years in prison and one-and-a-half years suspended, Jamal Abu Leil to two years in prison and two years suspended, Mohammed Musa to one-and-a-half years in prison and one-and-a-half years suspended, Fawaz Mohamoud Ibzaygh to one year in prison and one year suspended, Yousef Abed Rabbo to one year in prison and one year suspended. They are all residents of the Kalandia refugee camp.

COMPLAINT AGAINST PLAYGROUND CLOSURE

KALANDIA — Youths at the Kalandia refugee camp complained against the closure of their school playground for the past year.

JORDAN REFUSES TO ACCREDIT HEBRON UNIVERSITY DEGREES

HEBRON — Hebron University graduates in Tulkarm area expressed their concern and unhappiness at the Jordanian ministry of education's decision not to accredit their degrees. It claims that it has not received clarification on this matter. The Arab Universities' Union agreed last year to accept Hebron University as a member.

July 19, 1984

FORGED LAND DEALS

RAMALLAH — The court of first instance looked into the case of 20 landowners whose land was sold in a forged deal at Batillo and Dir Ammar by a land broker. The broker was asked to prove his ownership of the land in question. It was pointed out that he owns 11 dunams out of 411 dunams sold by him. *Al Fajr* listed the names of 20 families affected by this forged deal.

MURDER SUSPECT

NABLUS — Ephraim Segal, 27-year-old resident of Elon Moreh settlement, was released on bail after a detention of seven-and-a-half months. He is accused of being an accessory in the murder of Aisha al-Bahash, an 11-year-old Nablus resident, in December 1983.

BOY INJURED IN EXPLOSION

SUR BAHER — A boy from Sur Baher village was injured when an explosive he was carrying went off. He was taken to al-Hussein hospital, Bethlehem, for treatment. Police are investigating.

HEALTH WORKERS' COMMITTEE

A Health Workers' Committee will be formed over the next few days in the West Bank. The Committee will work with the authorities on improving workers' salaries. A General Committee representing all West Bank areas will be elected later.

TAWJIHI STUDENT RELEASED

HEBRON — Israeli authorities released student Khalaf Abed Jbarah Talahmeh of Doura near Hebron after 67 days detention on charges of writing grafitti opposed to the *mukhtar* of al-Burj. The student was represented by advocate Riyad Milhem.

3 RELEASED IN JENIN AND TULKARM

Israeli authorities released Abdullah Barakat Fakouah from Jenin after he was detained for 8 days on charges of disobeying the orders of the military government.

The authorities have also released Samir Yousef Hurmush and Jamal Aziz Amar of Kafin near Tulkarm after they were detained for five days on charges of making Molotov cocktails.

PRISONERS SENT TO NABLUS

NABLUS — The Red Cross in Jerusalem announced that Israeli authorities transferred 59 prisoners from the Asqalan prison to the new prison in Nablus. They also transferred 52 prisoners from Beer Sheba prison to Nablus.

PALESTINE WEEK IN POLYTECHNIC

HEBRON — The Palestine Week at the Polytechnic College in Hebron has ended. The exhibitions included books, press and paintings.

July 20, 1984

IMPRISONMENT AND FINE FOR A BEIT SAHUP RESIDENT

RAMALLAH — Military court in Ramallah sentenced Elias Yusuf Atrash, from Beit Sahur, to a one year suspended jail sentence and a fine of IS120,000 on charges of assaulting an Israeli officer.

BETHLEHEM YOUTH RELEASED

Israeli authorities released Hasan Issa Hasan, from Bethlehem, after serving a one month jail sentence at Fara'a prison. He was also fined IS15,000.

GAZA SHEIKH ARRESTED

GAZA — Islamic Council in Gaza called upon all scholars, institutions and societies to exert efforts for the release of *Sheikh* Ahmad Ismai'il Yasin, the Council Secretary, who was arrested July 15. He is paralysed and in very bad health.

ABU ALI'S CASE POSTPONED

GAZA STRIP — The High Court postponed the hearing of Abu Ali Shahin's case until an unspecified date. For the past year, he has been under town arrest at Dahniyah village, near Rafah, Gaza Strip.

30 YEAR SENTENCE FOR QALQILYA YOUTH

QALQILYA — Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Ibrahim Mohammed Ali, of Qalqilya, to 30 years in prison. He was charged with planting an explosive charge in Kfar Sava. An Israeli was injured.

Hassan Salameh Wahsh points to the remains of his house summarily demolished by Israeli authorities in Za'tara, near Bethlehem, July 23 for being "unlicensed."/AO photo

GUARDS ASSAULT PRISONERS' MOTHERS

NABLUS — A clash took place two days ago at the new Nablus prison between mothers of the detainees and the prison guards. The incident took place when the mothers expressed their dissatisfaction with the treatment of their sons in the prison.

July 22, 1984

CURFEW LIFTED

NABLUS — Israeli authorities lifted the curfew imposed on the Old City in Nablus and on the nearby streets. The curfew was imposed after a hand grenade was thrown at an Israeli army vehicle in the main square.

HOUSE DEMOLISHED AT ZA'TARA

BETHLEHEM — Israeli authorities demolished the two-storey house of Ali Salim at Za'tara village near Bethlehem. The house, according to the authorities, was unlicensed.

ARAB JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION SUPPORTS ADEN AGREEMENT

The Arab Journalists Association in the occupied territories praised the Aden Agreement. It described the agreement as historic and an expression of the aspirations of the Palestinian people and demanded that the agreement be implemented.

FINES FOR QABATYAH YOUTHS

NABLUS — Military court in Nablus fined four Qabatyah youths IS50,000 each for security charges. The four are: Usama Umar Alawneh, Abd al-Hadi Hamamdeh, Yasir Mustafa Alwaneh, Jamal Hasan Abdo.

IMPRISONMENT FOR JABALYA YOUTHS

GAZA — Military court in Gaza sentenced Wahid al-Hileh to two-and-a-half years in prison and Ziyad al-Khaldi to two years in prison. They were charged with possessing weapons. Both are from Jabalya.

ISRAELI AUTHORITIES BLOCK ENTRANCE TO NABLUS OLD CITY

NABLUS — Israeli authorities erected a reinforced cement wall at the entrance to al-Qasabah Quarter (Old City). This is the sixth such wall blocking the entrances to the Old City in Nablus, turning it into a semi-detention camp. The erection of such walls will have a negative effect on the commercial activity in the city.

Neturei Karta posters calling for boycotting elections: "One who participates in the elections for the heretic Knesset is a partner to rebellion against heaven's kingdom."

July 23, 1984

TWO EXPLOSIVE CHARGES HURLED AT ISRAELI PATROL

JABALYA — Israel radio reported that two explosive charges were hurled at an Israeli patrol in Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. The first was thrown at an Israeli position in the camp. When Israeli forces started to comb the area the second was thrown at them. There were no casualties.

TWO YOUTHS RELEASED IN GAZA

GAZA — Israeli authorities released Marwan Hijazi and Ra'fat Labad, both from Gaza, after serving three-year jail sentences on charges of membership in Palestinian organisations.

WEST BANK EDUCATION PRESSURE

Directors of education in the West Bank are under heavy pressure by the Israeli officer in charge of education and the military authorities to normalise relations between their students and students in Jewish settlements. They are required to arrange exchange trips for students of both communities. An Arab official in one of the education offices was discharged by the Jordanian authorities because he accompanied Arab students to visit a Jewish settlement.

TWO HOUSES DEMOLISHED AT ZA'TARA

BETHLEHEM — Israeli authorities demolished the houses of Ali Salamah and Hasan Salamah from Za'tara village, near Bethlehem, without prior warning. The authorities claim the houses are unlicensed.

4 ARAB YOUTHS RELEASED

HOLON — Israeli police in Holon released four Arab youths charged with placing an explosive charge in a gas station. The charge was not proven against them.

STUDY OF MOSQUES

The Islamic *Waqf* department in Jerusalem is preparing a pictorial publication of mosques in the West Bank.

July 24, 1984

SHOPS REOPENED IN NABLUS

NABLUS — Military authorities permitted four shops to reopen in Nablus. They were closed last Saturday after a bomb was thrown at a military vehicle.

YATTA LAND CASE DISCUSSED

YATTA — The military objections committee looked into the case of the 4000 dunums of Arab La'abneh-Zuweidin — east of Yatta near Hebron. The case was postponed until September 15, 1984.

307 MARRIAGES IN ONE MONTH

HEBRON — There were 307 marriages in the Hebron area in one month, the highest figure for years.

Laqiya Beduin Oppose School Transfer, Fear Fourth Relocation

"If the Ministry of Education implements its decision and transfers the preparatory school to Tel Saba', we shall tear the school down totally." These harsh words came this week from the Beduin of Laqiya, north of Beer Sheba. The Ministry of Education, which had decided to transfer the preparatory school from Laqiya to Tel Saba', reached an agreement with local *sheikhs*, angering the parents' committee. (Laqiya residents have been forcibly moved by Israeli authorities three times in twenty years. Their lands have been confiscated for a kibbutz, and water and electricity were never extended to their present site .)

"This is a first step towards the expropriation of our land. First they will transfer one school, then the whole village, in order to occupy our land," claim the pupils' parents. They accuse the *sheikhs* of collaboration with the Ministry of Education. In response to these claims, the Naqab district director of the Ministry of Education told *Hadashot*: "We plan for the interests of the pupils. We have invested millions of shekels in Tel Saba' to erect a school with modern equipment and modern laboratories and workrooms in order to raise the pupils' level of education and eliminate dropouts. The Ministry of Education will even organise separate transportation for boys and girls from Laqiya to Tel Saba'. Relating to the inhabitants' claim that we want to expropriate land, we have started to build 12 new classrooms in Laqiya and this contradicts their claim."

Meanwhile, at the Abu Kaff school, a strike continues to protest lack of water and closure of the school. The Ministry of Education disclosed that water will be supplied to the school by tankers and that next year Abu Kaff students will be transferred to Tel Saba'.

For the last 27 years the school has not been provided with water, although a water pipe passes 800 metres from the school, according to Nuri al-Uqbeh, chairperson of the Beduin Rights Defence Committee in Beer Sheba. (Translation: Hadashot, June 24, 1984)

POWs in Atlit want to Greet Families by TV

Four prisoners-of-war from Lebanon, formerly held at Ansar and now in Atlit military prison in Israel, petitioned the Israeli defence minister July 13 to allow them to convey messages to their families in Lebanon via Israeli television.

In a letter written on their behalf by Jerusalem lawyer Felicia Langer, the four prisoners pointed out that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command (PFLP—GC) allowed the three Israeli prisoners-of-war whom they are holding to appear on TV two weeks ago. The lawyer said that the three Lebanese Druze, Ghassan Zeidan and Bayan Zeidan, from Ras al-Ballut in the Shouf mountains, and Hussein Salhah, from Ras al-Matin, and a Palestinian, Mohammed Yunis, from Bourj al-Shemali refugee camp, have been detained by the Israeli government for more than two years on no known charges. "If they are permitted to appear on TV, it would a good humanitarian gesture which might help speed up the prisoner exchange agreement with the PFLP—GC," the lawyer said in the letter.

The four prisoners, who had been held in Ansar detention camp in south Lebanon, were supposed to be released with other Ansar prisoners according to the exchange agreement in November 1983. Instead, they were transferred to Israeli prisons, along with at least 130 Palestinian and Lebanese detainees. The exact number of POWs from Lebanon now in Israeli jails has never been declared.

Israeli Insurance Company: "For Jews Only"

The Israeli La National Insurance Company recently refused to insure Arab citizens for car maintenance and general insurance. A Haifa insurance agent, Uri Israeli, said that in recent months the company's representatives refused many times to insure Arab citizens (of Israel) and to renew policies for Arabs who were already insured by the company.

"Arabs are not yet 'grade C' citizens in the state and I don't understand the problem," said Israeli. "When I appealed to the company, they told me that these are Arabs and that they did not want to insure them."

The company refused to renew a policy for advocate Issam Maadi, who has been insured by the company since 1980 and even represented the company in claims against agents and clients.

"I have never had any problem in paying the premium," told Maadi.

"When I asked for insurance for Maadi in La National, they told me to turn to another company," said Israeli.

'Ezra Terabulus, deputy general director of La National, responded: "It was clear to us that 90 percent of Arab clients' cheques bounced. We are not a philanthropic institute and do not intend to open a special collecting department for these debts." When Terabulus was asked why the company punishes Arab clients who fulfil their obligations, he replied: "I cannot be selective. Indeed, there are Arab clients who are OK but their policies are not renewed because it is not worthwhile for the smaller agents."

"Only 20 percent of the many people insured from Sakhnin have caused problems for me," claims Uri Israeli. "There are also Jewish clients who don't pay, and whose cheques bounce."

La National's deputy general director, when asked to comment on the fact that other insurance companies continue to do business with Arabs, said: "Doormats don't die, they are replaced."

Hadashot correspondent told the deputy general director that the company's Haifa branch director had refused to insure an Arab, *a priori*, before he examined whether or not it was a worthwhile business proposition. "The branch director is dumb if he doesn't insure an Arab just because he is an Arab," responded Terabulus. (Translation: Hadashot, July 12, 1984)

continued from page 5

Aden Statement

Palestinian affairs, adding immediately, "not only Syrian interference" but other Arab countries' as well. Palestinian groups within the PLO context, Khalidi believes, have always agreed on a sort of common denominator, such as self-determination for Palestinians and more. Some groupings, he added, are more willing than others to make concessions in return for the right to self-determination. Khalidi, who until last year was a professor at the American University of Beirut, confirmed that differences may have sharpened since the 1982 war between these groups, but for the lack of any other alternatives, he said, they will have to work together, as they did until the last major friction.

PLO unity having been established, Khalidi believes, the next mode is to "reassert Palestinian identity among the Arabs and to rebuild some of the influence we had" all over the world. The Palestinians, he continued, ceased to be taken seriously by the Arabs and others, mainly because nowhere are they mobilised, and once they become mobilised again, they will again become respected as a force. Khalidi emphasised the need for a strategy, such as defining Palestinian goals, how to achieve them, what could be conceded, if anything at all, in return for them. He does not, however, think that anything now 'on the table' — Reagan plan, Fez plan, etc — will produce anything, nor will Labour Party control in Israel, or a re-elected Reagan administration. He blames the power imbalance between the Arabs and Israel for much of why and where Palestinians are and stressed the need to "re-establish our links with and make ourselves an Arab force." He concluded, "It is a precondition, in order to be taken seriously, to improve your situation and the balance of power."

Consensus on substantive issues, Hallaj said, doesn't yet exist among the groups to the agreement. He hopes the convening of the PNC will produce such a consensus. Palestinian priority, Hallaj added, should be "to reorganise the national movement and retrieve its efficiency and strength," rather than respond to any of the so-called solutions presently on the table. The other priority, he said, is "to clarify the Palestinian position," which will eliminate confusion and improve the PLO's effectiveness in dealing with both regional and international actors.

In conclusion, and answering Israeli "peacenik" calls for a clear Palestinian stand on a two-state solution, Khalidi said that Palestinians regard the request as, at best, unpleasant. "Proposing 'clear solutions' implies compromise with a [state] that has shown no willingness to compromise with us." He went on saying that he does not believe that a clear statement from the Palestinian side would produce what Israeli "peaceniks" say it would. "I do not believe," he concluded, "the majority of Israelis accept a binational solution. They want a mono-national solution with a subjugated Palestinian minority."

National Institutions Must Guide Palestinian Students in Israel

Nadim Rouhana, director of Najah University's Documentation and Research Centre, found a serious shortage of Palestinian graduates in certain specialisations and an urgent need for national institutions to guide students into priority areas. This week, *Al Fajr* concludes his two-part research article, which was first published in the Haifa-based *Al Jadid* magazine (May 1984).

Continued from last week:

It is not easy to estimate the number of Arab university graduates. The number that researchers often use is based on Israeli statistics and is, unfortunately, inaccurate since it is calculated by relying on general criteria and not necessarily on correct assumptions. Nor is there information on the number of graduates from each village, region or field of specialisation.

There are two basic ways to gather this information:

The first is to use the graduation records of the Israeli universities. The second is to visit each village and gather first-hand information. Since Israeli universities do not provide such information, we had to follow the second route. Thus, with the assistance of 15 researchers, we gathered the information from all Arab villages, towns and cities. Just like students, the information does not include Nazareth, Haifa, Arara or Kufr Manda.

It is worth noticing that the vast majority of our Arab local councils do not maintain records on university students or graduates. As a result, the assistant researchers resorted to collecting the information directly from the students and graduates themselves. Therefore, we expect a margin of error, as in gathering any other information. We should also mention that, because of the definition we fixed for students, we have tended to decrease the number of graduates and to increase the number of students. In order to avoid counting people twice, once as students and again as graduates, we defined a university student as anyone who is pursuing university education, regardless of whether he/she is already a holder of a college degree. Thus, a teacher with one university degree who is studying for a second degree is counted among students rather than graduates. Graduates of teacher training centres were not counted among graduates; if we had included them, the number of graduates, of course, would have been higher.

The number of graduates, according to this description, is about 2000. If we add graduates from Nazareth and Haifa and students who are studying for a second or a third degree, the number would be close to 3000. Unfortunately, we do not have any statistical source to confirm this number, therefore we call upon the local councils in each village and town to collect this kind of information.

The percentage of graduates who obtained their certificates abroad is about 16 percent. In comparison with the number of students who are currently studying abroad, this percentage is very small. It is, however, a very high ratio when compared with international standards; it is not usual for the percentage of graduates of foreign countries to be so high in 'normal' conditions — not even in developing societies is this seen. As is well known, many graduates who emigrate were educated in foreign countries. This specifically applies to those who have been educated in Western countries, for those who have studied in socialist countries know that the policies of the host countries require them to return to their countries once they finish their education. The possibility of emigration to Western countries, however, also applies to graduates of socialist countries, especially when there are no jobs suitable to their speciality.

It is also noticeable, as is the case with students, that the ratio of female graduates to male graduates is very small: 7.6 to 100. In more than 60 villages, there are no women who have finished university education, while in the vast majority of the rest of the villages and towns, the number of female graduates does not exceed five. The percentage is even lower in the Eastern Galilee and Southern Triangle, and lower still, down to two percent, in the Northern Triangle. In the Western Galilee and the Centre, the average exceeds 7.6 percent.

Another characteristic is that the vast majority of graduates have remained in the country. Emigrants among university graduates account for about five percent of the total. A person was not considered as an emigrant unless he/she had finished university education and had settled abroad as a resident of a foreign country. (This percentage also does not include emigrants who do not hold university degrees.)

In most villages, there are no emigrant graduates. Where there are emigrants, the number does not exceed five. The village of al-Rameh is an exception with 30 emigrant graduates. In the southern Triangle, the ratio of emigrant graduates is higher, at 9.1 percent, than the regional average.

University graduates who do not emigrate prefer to live in their home villages or towns. It is noticeable that the number of graduates who have changed their place of residence within the country is limited.

What do graduates do with their degrees? Most graduates work as teachers. According to the Ministry of Education statistics, there are 1589 teachers with university degrees who work in Arab education institutions. The figures of the Israeli ministry of education, however, include teachers from occupied Jerusalem and students who are studying for higher degrees. Thus, it is difficult to estimate the ratio of graduates who work in the field of education. It is clear, however, that the ratio is high and could reach 60 percent. A large number of those are graduates of general history, history of the Middle East, languages and literature.

Thirteen percent of our graduates work in the medical profession and most of them work as general medicine physicians. Another 13 percent work in engineering, about half in civil engineering. The rest are divided among mechanical, agricultural, electrical, computer, medical, chemical and electronic engineering in small numbers. Only 250 graduates in all work in the field of engineering. Graduates with engineering degrees, all except for civil engineering, have great difficulty in finding suitable jobs. A large number are graduates of universities in socialist countries.

Among other characteristics of graduates, the low number of holders of higher education degrees stands out. It is obvious that the system of defining graduates and students had an effect on lowering this percentage but, despite that, the number of graduates with BA or MA degrees is very limited in all fields. The number of PhDs in all fields, especially in the behavioural sciences, is even lower. A large number of those Palestinians who hold a second or third degree find jobs in Palestinian universities in the occupied territories. Only a very few are employed by Israeli universities, with the largest number — 10 — at Haifa University.

Fewer graduates hold degrees in the behavioural sciences than in engineering and medicine: about 10 percent. The remaining graduates are divided into a number of fields like law, pharmacology and, lately, accounting.

Conclusions: First we should notice that the information shown here should have been collected and used as a base for guiding and supervising Arab students. Yet, no government authority is concerned about using this information for planning, building and giving guidance. Even if the authorities cared about collecting this type of information, it would certainly be under the direct supervision of the office of the prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs, or under the direct authority of Israeli security, with the purpose being to control the Arab masses and to give direction to the makers of repressive policies against the Arab people.

But, even with the information gathered, there is no party to use and spread it among students, to reach scientific conclusions and advise both secondary and university students, to encourage young women to enrol in universities, and to take the initiative in establishing institutions which can absorb the educated cadres.

Among the most important conclusions there is the fact that students, while trying to deal with the special situation under which the Palestinian people live and because of the absence of a guiding national authority, have fallen into serious trends in choosing subjects for study. These trends arise from the students' desire to rely on themselves and to escape the control of the authorities. If these trends continue, however, they might produce opposite results. Palestinian society is short of a number of specialisations and, if there is no structure in society to absorb these specialisations, it must be developed rather than tryng to treat the problem resulting from its absence. The establishment of this infrastructure; however, is not the duty of students, but of national institutions operating within Palestinian society in Israel.

Thus, with respect to the subject of this study, national educational bodies must be established which would be concerned with scientific planning for the needs of Palestinian society and directing higher education towards that. Among its urgent tasks is to deal with the problem of students who study abroad. Since a large number of our students study abroad, especially in the field of medicine, we should study whether it is possible to absorb this number and how. If the answer is negative, we will face in the near future the possibility of this emigration. Planning must also direct students to study alternative subjects so that graduates can find suitable jobs and serve their society at the same time. Also urgent is the need to plan programmes to encourage young women to enrol in universities in greater numbers in order to reduce the gap, between male and female students.

We must stress the need to establish a national authority in the field of education as well as in other fields because Palestinian society is undergoing qualitative development and change, without an authority to supervise and direct this growth. The governmental authority is concerned only with controlling the people rather than their progress. And since we were feeling an increased awareness on the part of individuals of these facts, it seems that among the most serious challenges in front of those people at this stage is to employ this awareness to encourage existing national institutions, and to establish additional institutions if necessary, in order to make the necessary plans on the educational and other levels.